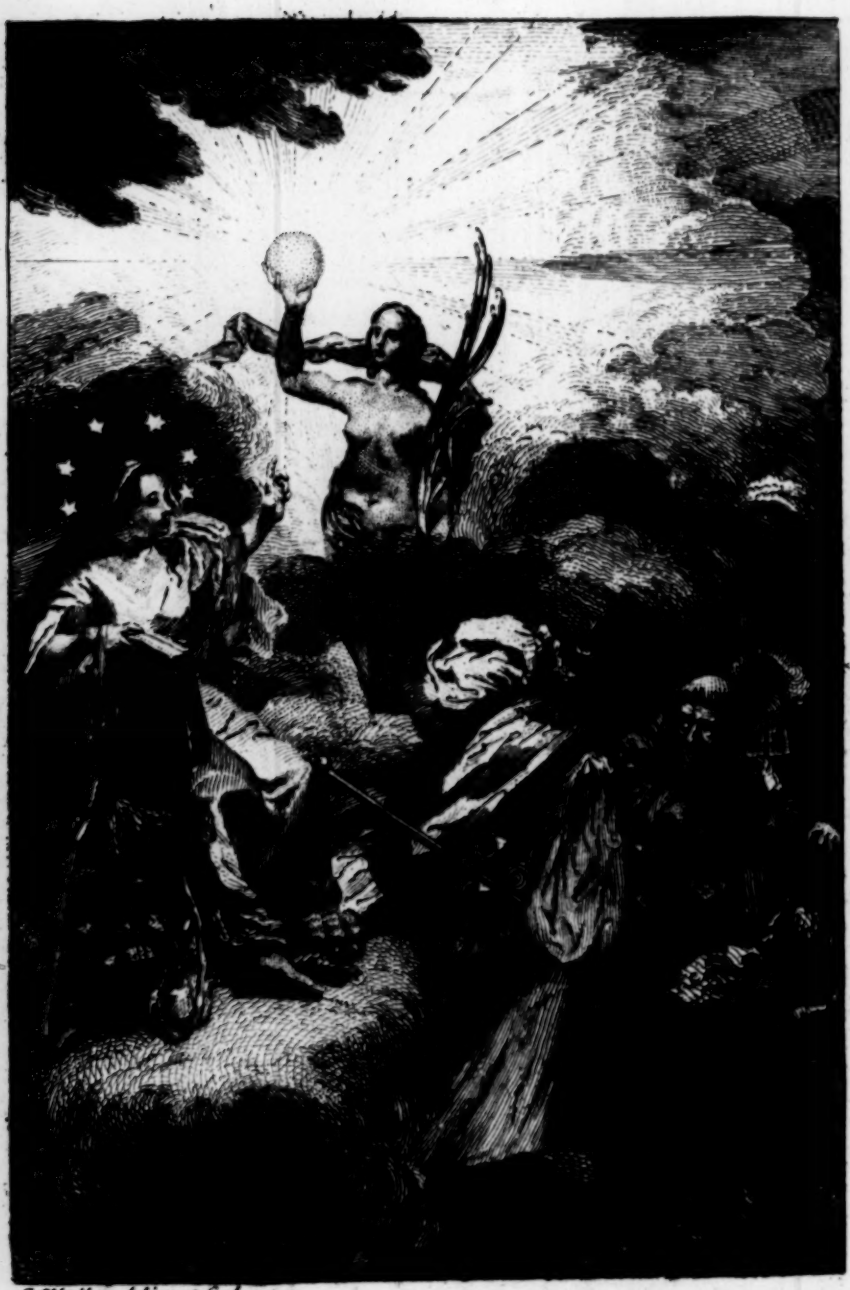
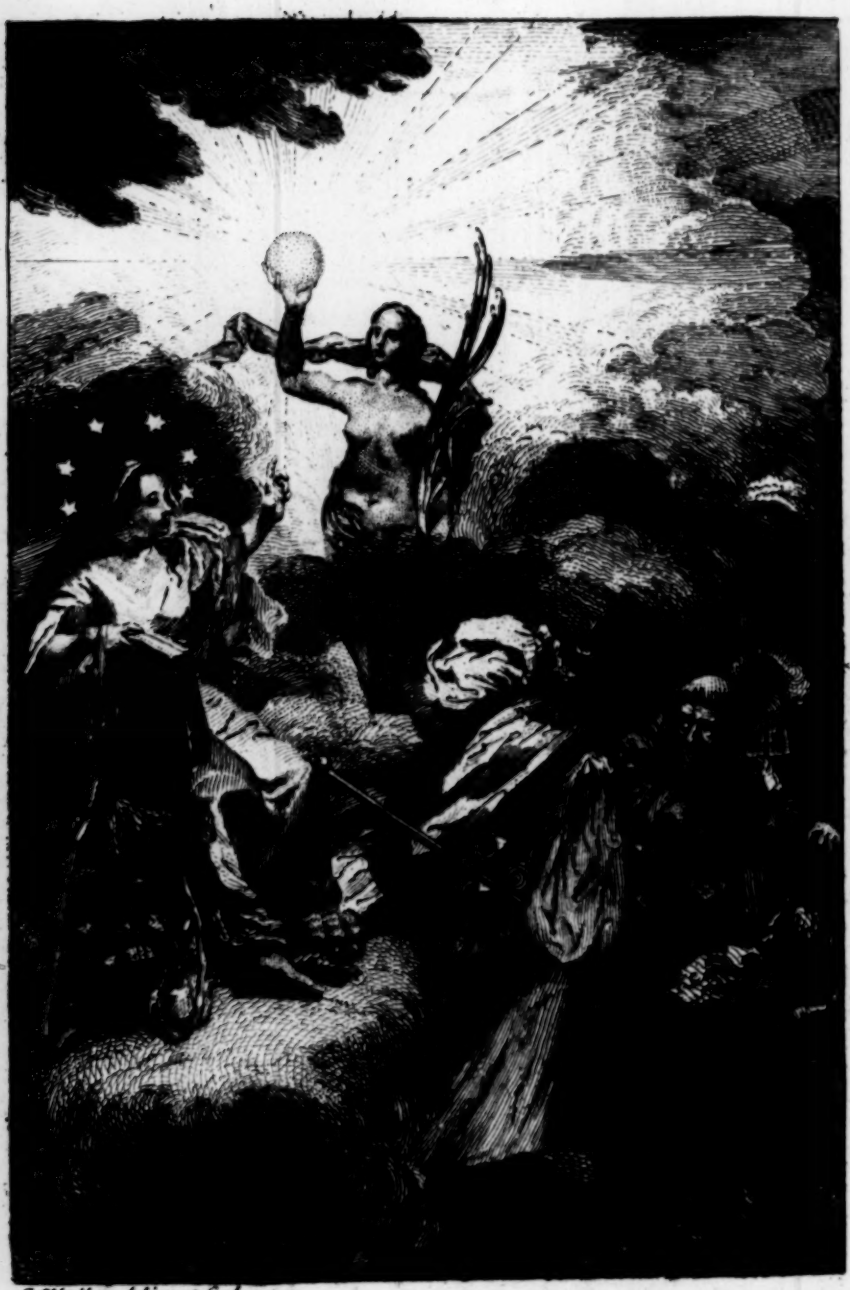


A. Walker delin. et sculp.

Magna est veritas et prevalebit.



A. Walker delin. et sculp.

Magna est veritas et prevalebit.

1486 d.d. 11

A

CORDIAL

FOR

LOW SPIRITS.

BEING A

COLLECTION of curious TRACTS.

By THOMAS GORDON, Esq.

Author of the INDEPENDENT WHIG, and other Writers.

In THREE VOLUMES.

The third Impression, Revised and Improved, with many additional Articles.

Hah! Hah! Hah!

MILTON.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:

Printed for Messrs. WILSON and FELL, at the *Angel*, in *Pater-noster-Row*. MDCCLXIII

Price Half a Guinea.


BRITISH MUSEUM
27
57
SEP

THE PREFACE.

THESE *Volumes made their firſt appearance ſome years ago, in ſeparate publications; when, in general, they were well received by the friends of* truth *and* liberty, *many of whom expreſſed their high approbation of the work, and greatly promoted the ſale.*

That they are now republiſhed is owing to their ſcarcity, and to the continued demand for them.

At the ſame time I have taken occaſion of enriching the work with additional tracts, to render it ſtill more compleat: and I hope theſe additions will be found equally inſtructive and entertaining to the reader.

But leſt the purchaſers of this new edition ſhould apprehend any future publication, with farther improvements; I here declare, that as this edition is the beſt, *it ſhall be the* laſt *from my Hands.*

Cordials *ſhould not be made too cheap, or too common: therefor, let theſe volumes be conſecrated to the delight and entertainment of the* diſcerning few.

SIC VOLO.

The firſt end propoſed in making this collection was to preſerve from oblivion Mr. Gordon's *tracts, whoſe merit, as a writer, will be confeſſed by all candid men, and competent judges. Our language is much indebted to him for many excellent productions. The* Independent Whig, Cato's letters, *the* Humoriſt, *the tranſlation of* Tacitus, *and* diſcourſes *on that author, to which may be added the diſcourſes on* Salluſt; *are noble monuments of his genius, and will tranſmit his name with honour to poſterity.*

That the tracts aſcribed to him in the firſt *volume of this collection (and to thoſe only have I put his name) were really written by him, is well known to ſome of his intimate friends ſtill living.*

The two apologies *for Cardinal* Alberoni *firſt recommended him to the favour and friendſhip of Mr.* Trenchard, *from which he reaped ſuch great advantages. See his preface to* Cato's *letters.*

In Mr. Collins's *catalogue (a book ſtill extant in the libraries of the curious) theſe tracts*

are

are aſcribed to Mr. Gordon : *and from the tract, entitled,* the character of an Independent Whig *(which was publiſhed before the weekly paper under that name) he borrowed ſeveral paragraphs ; as the reader will ſee by comparing that tract with the forty firſt number of the* Independent Whig, *vol.* II.

Moreover, it is known to me, that Mr. Gordon *himſelf had a deſign of republiſhing theſe tracts, and of adding them to the* Independent Whig ; *which, with ſuch additions as he intended would have made a* fifth *volume of that valuable work : but in this deſign he was prevented by death.*

I only add, that if any doubt ſtill remains concerning this matter, the curious reader may ſatisfy himſelf by writing to Mr. Gordon's *ſon, a learned and eminent counſellor in* Jamaica : *and long may he live, and flouriſh, for his father's ſake !*

I am ſorry that I cannot gratify the reader's curioſity with the names of all other writers in this work. After the moſt exact enquiry, I have not been able to get any certain information concerning them : and the reaſon of ſuch writers concealing their names will appear to every man, who conſiders the danger of attacking prieſtcraft and ſacerdotal heraldry, or of oppoſing opinions that have wealth and po-

wer on their ſide. Few men have the courage to ſet their names to ſuch writings, as thereby they will expoſe themſelves to the reſentment and malice of bigots *and* wrongheads, *a numerous tribe ſtill flouriſhing in the midſt of us. But it is of no importance to know who were the writers, as names can add no worth to writings, nor give weight to arguments.*

I have taken no liberty to make alterations in any paſſage, as ſome ſqueamiſh *readers might have wiſhed, but have printed every tract according to its original.*

Some notes I have added, where I judged them neceſſary for the information of certain readers: and, a remarkable note will be found in Whiſton's trial, *for which I expect the curſes of many. But I ſhall be happy if that note induces the reader to a careful peruſal of the books there recommended; as ſuch peruſal cannot fail of anſwering my deſign. If the reader is a* Chriſtian *upon miſtaken principles, from thence he may take occaſion to rectify his faith, and reduce it within primitive and apoſtolic bounds: if he is a* diſbeliever *in* Chriſtianity, *at leaſt he will ſee what great injuſtice hath been done the* Chriſtian *Religion, by loading it with abſurdities and impoſſibilities.*

There

There are but few religions, if any, that in length of time have not varied from their original: and this, perhaps, is more true of Chriſtianity *than of any other religion; the faith of* modern Chriſtians *in many articles being no more the faith of the firſt converts, than* Popery *is* Chriſtianity.

Monſtroſities *can never be objects of faith, nor what is repugnant to reaſon be the revelation of God.* Tranſubſtantiation *has the letter of ſcripture to ſupport it,* this is my body; *but* eternal generation *and* ſonſhip *are doctrines without all ſupport from ſcripture.*

That Jeſus *is the* Chriſt, *the* Meſſiah, *the* ſon of God, *(which are names ſynonimous) the ſcriptures teach, and they confirm the truth by miracles and prophecy. But the* Son of God *is a title of dignity and office, and the phraſe is abuſed, when it is made to ſignify* a ſon begotten before all worlds, *or a ſon exiſting from eternity: or indeed, exiſting before his mother's conception.*

The man Chriſt Jeſus *is* the ſon of God: *He is that ſon who was promiſed to* Adam, *to* Abraham, *and to* David; *and in him were fulfilled all the predictions of the prophets.*

He is the beloved ſon, *or, as* JOHN *ſtyles him,* the only begotten ſon, *that is, the*

ſon moſt highly favoured, moſt dearly beloved; and by whom God hath ſhewn his good will and grace to men.

The man Chriſt Jeſus *is the* ſon of man: *that is, he is the moſt excellent of men, their lord and chief, to whom God hath given dominion and authority over all mankind, and conſtituted judge of the world.*

Who ſhould be our lord, but one made in all things like unto us? who ſo fit to be our judge, as one of the ſame nature *with our ſelves? It were ſtrange indeed, to ſuppoſe a being of a different nature from men, to be made the Saviour, lord and judge of men!*

Revelation accords with reaſon in this matter; and the acts of the Apoſtles *clearly ſhew, that the monſtrous faith of many* modern Chriſtians *in this article was unknown both to* Jewiſh *and* Gentile *converts. There is not one word of it in all the preaching of the apoſtles. Read the* Acts, *and believe your own eyes.*

After a long baniſhment the truth is returned; and it has appeared in ſuch brightneſs and ſtrength as to cover the followers of Arius *with ſhame and confuſion. All the texts formerly alledged to ſupport the* pre-exiſtence of Chriſt, *are now found to be impertinent and inſufficient. Our lord's* HUMANITY *is eſta-*

eſtabliſhed beyond all rational contradiction: multitudes have embraced the precious truth; converts are daily making to it; and ARIANS *are aſtoniſhed and amazed, like* owls *and* bats *at the opening of meridian beams.*

Here is warning to all men, not to proſtrate their reaſon on pretence of believing divine revelation, but to examine things with care, and to ſuſpect the truth of whatever has the appearance *of* abſurdity: *ſince it is manifeſt, that whole ages have believed in a* ſtrange Chriſt, *ſuch as the ſcriptures know nothing of, and been taught to regard that as a* myſtery, *which is a* mere fable.

All this aroſe from Chriſtians neglecting the moſt expreſs command of Chriſt, to call no man father *or* maſter upon earth *in matters of religion: and for ſuch contempt of his authority, God in juſt judgment gave them deluding doctors, blind guides, men who were ignorant of Chriſtianity in its firſt principles.*

Thoſe that have aſſumed dominion and authority in matters of faith, that have claimed a right to interpret the ſcriptures, and to impoſe their interpretations on the Chriſtian world, have made a proper uſe of ſuch uſurped authority: they have taught and propagated the moſt ſhocking, beaſtly, and abominable opinion that ever entered the mind of man, viz.

that a Son of God, exiſting from eternity, *and who* made all worlds, left his heavenly throne, became a ſpeck, *and* lay in the womb of a virgin * : *which in monſtroſity exceeds all that ever poets feigned, all that ſavages have ever believed: which ſeems to have been the utmoſt ſtretch of prieſtly invention to mock and deride the reaſon of human kind: in ſhort, the* Jockeys of Nice *have far out done all ſacerdotal rogues from the beginning of the world.*

Nor is this the only thing wherein the religion of Chriſt *hath been misfigured and defaced: ſcarcely one point of faith, as profeſſed and taught in any national church, is to be found in the ſcriptures, but every thing is diſtorted and miſrepreſented: to ſay nothing of the* hierarchy, prelacy, *and* church power, *with their appurtenances and tackle, all of them as contrary to Chriſtianity as ſodomy is to nature.*

The

* I have no inclination to treat this ſubject ludicrouſly; but as the honour and credit of the *Chriſtian* religion will be much affected by ſuch a repreſentation of this matter, I beſeech all *incarnation doctors* ſeriouſly to conſider what Dr. *Lardner* hath ſaid in his letter on the Logos, page 23. *I forbear mentioning ſome things, which appear to me conſequences from the Logos (in the* Arian *ſenſe of that term) being the Soul of our bleſſed Saviour. And, as they are not mentioned, they* NEED NOT AFFECT YOU, UNLESS THEY SHOULD OCCUR TO YOUR THOUGHTS. Oh! that all doctors were like him, or, that there never had been any doctors.

The free *manner wherein theſe things are mentioned, will probably offend ſome weak and good minds: but what then? muſt we for that reaſon ſuffer the ſcriptures to be perverted, and Chriſtianity to be miſrepreſented, till it become altogether incredible to men of better heads? On the contrary, is it not a kind office to rectify miſtakes, and to remove thoſe prejudices, thoſe* eſtabliſhed abſurdities, *by which many are led into infidelity, and confirmed in it?*

Chriſtianity, as repreſented in national churches, and by moſt ſects that profeſs it, is the greateſt inſult that was ever offered to human reaſon: and if abſurdities, contradictions, and impoſſibilities are made its foundation, we have no rules by which to diſtinguiſh it from the vileſt impoſture.

All revelation ſtands upon the foot of natural religion, and ſuppoſes it. Beware then, O Chriſtians, *leſt ye father on the ſcriptures doctrines contrary to natural religion!*

Have we any rule whereby to judge of revelation, but reaſon? Can we judge of the ſcriptures without reaſon, or believe without the exerciſe of our underſtanding? If the ſcriptures teach things contrary to reaſon, and repugnant to all human underſtanding, muſt they not be rejected?

The negative *of theſe queſtions will infer that all religions are alike; and of traditionary revelations we are left at full liberty to chuſe that, which appears moſt beneficial to human ſociety, ſince none of them can pretend to divine authority more than the reſt, but in that reſpect are all on a level.*

Theſe reaſonings can never affect the truth of Chriſtianity with men that underſtand the ſcriptures, but they are unanſwerable objections to its divine authority, when abſurd doctrines are fathered on the ſcriptures.

Therefor, if we have diſcovered that many texts of ſcripture have been miſunderſtood, and in conſequence of ſuch miſinterpretation, that doctrines abhorrent to reaſon and altogether incredible have been taught as the doctrines of divine revelation; is it not our duty to tell men ſo, and to publiſh our diſcoveries to the world? Verily, a conſiſtent belief of divine revelation, and a reverence for the great and holy name of God requires this at our hands: we hereby render faith in his word more eaſy, we remove the cauſes of unbelief in many, by ſhewing that the Chriſtian *faith is rational, that God makes it our duty to believe nothing but what is adequate to human underſtanding: whereas to ſmother the truth, and to hand down errors and abſurdities to poſterity, be-*

cauſe

cauſe they were received in our age, and had the ſanction of human anthority; this conſiſts not with a love of God or man; this confirms many in infidelity; this were a ready way to make men think all revelation to be human impoſture.

I hope theſe arguments will be a ſufficient apology for the great freedom *I have uſed on this ſubject; which proceeds ſimply and purely from a love of truth, and not from a party ſpirit, or from rancour and bitterneſs to any man, or to any ſet of men whatſoever.*

I profeſs myſelf to be a real believer in the divine authority of the ſcriptures, and I am moſt zealous for the credit and ſupport of Chriſtianity in the world. But at the ſame time I declare, and I judge it my duty as a Chriſtian *to declare, that I cannot aſſent to the creed of* Athanaſius, *or of* Arius, *or of the* Nicean *council; all which appear to me to be abſurd, and impoſſible to be true, and equally inconſiſtent with reaſon and revelation.*

And although the horrid wickedneſs and luxury of this age hath been one principal cauſe of the great infidelity now prevailing, at the ſame time I know, that many have rejected Chriſtianity on account of the abſurd doctrines that are taught and blended with it. All men do not uſe their reaſon in things of religion;

religion; but thoſe that do, will not readily believe that to be divine, which ſhocks their underſtanding, and contradicts the firſt principles of natural religion.

Men may write in defence of Chriſtianity, and produce arguments unanſwerable in vindication of it, but what will ſuch arguments and laboured defences avail, when a hierarchy *is ſet up and maintained in the* Chriſtian church, *in flat oppoſition to the precept and pattern of* Chriſt Jeſus? *A* hierarchy, *the race and lineage of that great ſcarlet whore, which hath corrupted the earth with her fornication!*

In like manner, when Chriſtian doctors teach the people to believe and adore what they cannot underſtand, a trinity in unity, *and threaten them with damnation on refuſal; can men that exerciſe their reaſon, believe this to be a revelation from the God of all truth and grace?*

Doth not all nature aſſure us that God is one? *And did not* Chriſt Jeſus, *that great prophet of God, confirm the truth, ſaying,* There is one God, and no more? *If the* Chriſtian *world hath been led into error in this great and fundamental article, are* Chriſtians *never to be ſet right? Indignation riſes at the thought of ſuch monſtrous perverſion,*

ſion, ſuch abominable corruption of all religion! Therefor, I ſay, let the hierarchy *be demoliſhed, and the* trinity be kicked out of doors.

To do the former, may be thought a hard work, if not impoſſible: but what hath lately happened to the Jeſuits *in* Portugal *and* France, *is a happy omen of the like glorious events in this free country. And I venture to propheſy, that the day will ſhortly come when their whole* BABEL *ſhall be pulled down by the mighty hand of truth and liberty.*

The eyes of many are opened; almoſt all men complain of great waſte and ſuperfluity in the national church; they declare for a more equal diviſion, for a competent maintenance, without pomp and wealth; as the latter never did ſerve, never can ſerve the intereſts of true religion: —— *and what remains, will help to pay off the national debt.*

As to the Trinity, *moſt reaſonable men agree in rejecting it: and both the peculiar opinion of* Arius, *and the creed of the* Nicean *council, are now diſcovered to have no foundation in ſcripture. The late learned Dr.* Clarke, *who laboured with great honour and ſucceſs in removing much religious rubbiſh, and many abſurd doctrines and explications of ſcripture, hath in this matter been found to*

have

have miſtaken the meaning of ſome texts, into which miſtake he was led by the prejudices of education. In ſhort, the Arian *ſcheme is built only on a few texts, ſuch as are equivocal, and whoſe meaning may be litigated; not to ſay on ſome, whoſe authority may be diſputed: Whereas the* HUMANITY *of* CHRIST *is ſolidly eſtabliſhed by texts innumerable, and ſtands on the united evidence of reaſon and revelation.*

The HUMANITY *has been the general belief of rational Chriſtians, of ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a Spirit of enquiry; witneſs the* ever-memorable Mr. Hales of Eton, *the moſt learned Dr.* Jeffery *of* Norwich, *the late excellent Dr.* Benjamin Hoadly, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter; *with others that might be mentioned: to ſay nothing of the greateſt divines in foreign churches, who bore their teſtimony to this truth: and had not the late Dr.* Clarke, *by his great judgment in other things, given a ſort of ſanction to the* Arian *hypotheſis, and in the opinion of many almoſt precluded all examination of the ſcriptures; this great controverſy had been long* ago *determined in favour of the* HUMANITY.

But the brighteſt and fulleſt manifeſtation of this glorious truth ſeems to have been reſerved.

ſerved by providence for the honour of this age, and as a moſt powerful check to the growth of infidelity; ſuch evidences of the humanity *of* Chriſt Jeſus *having been lately produced as many former ages were unacquainted with. For my meaning I refer the curious reader to Mr* Lowman's tracts, *where he will find the* Arians *beaten out of the main fort, which they had long held; whence of neceſſity they are driven to give up the reſt.*

Mr. Lowman *led the way, demoliſhing the outworks of the enemy; Dr.* Lardner *followed, and cleared the field. No anſwer has appeared to their writings on this ſubject: no anſwer can be given. Dr.* Chandler *hath confeſſed, he cannot anſwer Mr.* Lowman: *and if* he *cannot, who can?*

All reaſonable men have now declared for the HUMANITY; Arianiſm *having no advocates but among ſuch as never examined the matter, the ſons of abſurdity, and the lovers of contradiction: men whoſe pride is engaged to defend what they have formerly advanced and aſſerted; and whoſe oppoſition to the truth ſeems to ariſe from hence, that they were not ſo happy as to diſcover it, and who want the modeſty to confeſs themſelves miſtaken: in ſhort, men to whom may be applied the well known words of* QUINTILIAN, Multi ad ſapientiam

am pervenire potuiſſent, niſi ſe jam perveniſſe putaſſent: *that is, many might have been wiſe men, had they not thought themſelves already ſo: and I add, men, who care not to what ſcorn they expoſe the ſacred writings, if they can but ſecure themſelves and their own notions from contempt. Miſerable ſinners! we pray for you.*

Perhaps the reader will think that I have dwelt too long on this ſubject, but its great importance is my excuſe: and, I conclude this article with obſerving, that Sir Iſaac Newton *predicted this reſtoration of primitive truth, in thoſe memorable words to Mr.* Haynes,* the time will come, when the doctrine of the incarnation as commonly received, ſhall be exploded as an abſurdity equal to tranſ-

* *Hopton Haynes, Eſq.* who was author of ſeveral writings well known to the curious: he ſerved many years in the *Mint-Office* under Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and at the time of his death had a place in the *Exchequer*. (I think he died in the year 1749.) He was the moſt zealous *unitarian* I ever knew: and in a converſation with him on that ſubject, he told me that Sir *Iſaac Newton* did not believe our Lord's pre-exiſtence, being a *Socinian*, as we call it, in that article; that Sir *Iſaac* much lamented Mr. *Clarke*'s embracing *Arianiſm*, which opinion he feared had been, and ſtill would be, if maintained by learned men, a great obſtruction to the progreſs of Chriſtianity. *Note.* No man had ſearched the ſcriptures more than Sir *Iſaac Newton*, or underſtood them better: and if men will ſet up *names* for authorities in this matter, we have the *greateſt name* on our ſide!

tranſubſtantiation! *thanks be to God! we ſee the day.*

TANDEM TRIUMPHANS.

Having cleared the ſtage of abſurdities in faith, and demoliſhed our creed-mongers, *I now judge it neceſſary to vindicate my ſelf from a baſe imputation of falſhood.*

In the preface to a former edition of this work I told the following ſtory of Dr. Codex* *:—that during the time of his lording it over* Lincoln, *he had excited and cauſed more proſecutions in that dioceſe, for* tythes *and other eccleſiaſtic demands, than there had been from the* reformation *down to his day: and I ſaid, that I had received this account from a gentleman who never told a lie.*

The truth of this ſtory was then warmly conteſted by Dr. W. *who having married a daughter of* Codex *thought himſelf bound to vindicate his character. But how did he diſprove the ſtory?——by denying it, and calling me a liar. Poor man! was a charge of ſuch high nature to be removed by a ſimple denial, when the falſhood of it ſhould have been proved by authentic*

* Dr. *Codex*, a name given to Dr. *Gibſon*, a late Biſhop of *London*.

authentic vouchers, the records of that dioceſe? *the friends and admirers of Dr.* Codex *had it in their power to know the truth of this ſtory by conſulting thoſe* records; *and they have ſtill the ſame materials to confute it, if falſe, and to ſtab my reputation for ever. I knew too well the great honour and integrity of the gentleman upon whoſe authority I told the ſtory, to be in any doubt about the truth of it: and I am willing that a ſtrict ſearch be made into the fact alledged, by examining the books in the public office of that dioceſe: yea farther; to give Dr.* W. *all poſſible advantage in this matter, at the foot of the page* he will ſee a* name *not unknown to him, whoſe wearer is capable of determining this diſpute in a moment.*

During the time of theſe proſecutions the biſhop was ~~*compiling*~~ *his book, his* body of eccleſiaſtical law, *and* then *great was the cry of oppreſſion in divers parts of the nation; the moſt expenſive and vexatious methods were perſued, impriſonment or ſequeſtration followed for the ſmalleſt matters, and new demands were ſtill made; the* quakers *were trampled under foot as mire, and the* church *rode triumphant over all juſtice and humanity. Such inſatiable avarice,*

* The Reverend *William Pendlebury*, Rector of *Burythorp*, in the county of *York*.

avarice, ſuch mercileſs cruelty reigned in the heart of Gibſon ‡!

As an aggravation of ſuch unholy, ſuch ungodly, ſuch damnable and diabolical doings, they were pretended to be for ſupporting the church of Chriſt! *With equal juſtice might robberies and cut-throats pretend to be his miniſters and ambaſſadors!*

I ſhould be partial, if I neglected this occaſion of obſerving, that the proud, prieſtly, domineering ſpirit was not peculiar to Gibſon: *more modern times can ſhew a prelate, whoſe head ſeems intoxicated with notions of ſacerdotal power, and his heart full fraught with a ſpirit of perſecution. A late Biſhop of* Oxford *gave this advice to his clergy,* not to renounce thoſe powers which the goſpel had given them: and not to recede from any of thoſe privileges derived from human authority. *The Prelate I mean has for many years been a great ſupporter of churchmanſhip and orthodoxy: whom the offer of a golden prebend at* Durham, *with commendams, and the more diſtant proſpect of mitres, thrones, and dominations,*

‡ To know Biſhop *Gibſon*'s true character, I refer the reader to Mr. *Whiſton*'s *Memoirs of his own Life*, the firſt edition, *without the caſtrations*,

tions, firſt reconciled to myſteries, and eccleſiaſtical riddles, to triperſonality and hypoſtatical union; yea, to the whole maſs of abſurdities, he had formerly ridiculed and deſpiſed: whoſe converſion to Chriſtianity *was ſo ſudden and quick, that ſome of his friends pretended it was miraculous and extraordinary; that he was* called *by a ſingular act of grace; but whether by a* perſonal appearance *of* Jeſus, *(which ſome of our Methodiſts ſpeak of) or by ſome* powerful impreſſion *on his mind, they did not tell the world. For my part, I believe his* call *was from eying the rich robes at* Durham *, as he hath always manifeſted a great love of pomp and ſtate. But one thing is* certain, *that his ſubſequent life and labours have been full of zeal for the* church. *How happy is it for* our church, *that wealth and honour are tacked to its* creeds! *what a ſtrong ſupport! what numerous advocates, what huge volumes, hath this fortunate circumſtance produced! Were* reaſon *and* truth *the way to worldly dignity and honour, what would become*

* The Robes of the *Prebendaries* at *Durham* are ſuperb and rich beyond any thing to be ſeen in *popiſh* countries. There is a ſaying of a *Scots* gentleman on ſeeing thoſe fine dreſſes, that *the whore of* Babylon *went from thence in a great hurry, for that ſhe had left all her trumpery behind her.*

come of our creeds ? *I fear that neither the creed of* Athanaſius, *nor of* Arius, *nor of the* Nicean *council, would have any advocates : and as for* myſteries, *there would not be* one left. *Verily, the* church *would be ſtript of all her* ornaments !

But let us briefly examine the contents of his ſage advice to the clergy. They muſt not renounce thoſe powers which the Goſpel hath given them ! *I ſolemnly declare, that in the ſcriptures I can find no power, nor authority given to any men, except the apoſtles, who had ſpecial gifts to confirm and atteſt their miſſion from* Jeſus : *and therefor I conclude, that all commiſſions to preach the Goſpel, to teach authoritatively, and to baptize the nations, terminated in them. Have we any* word of God *but what they publiſhed to the world, and left in their writings? Prithee, then,* ——————————, *teach not the clergy to aſſume the title of ambaſſadours or miniſters of Jeſus ; ſince all ſuch titles and pretenſions to ſucceſſion and authority are mere mimicry, and will expoſe thee and thy clergy to contempt.*

But the worſt is ſtill behind—— Recede not from any of thoſe privileges derived from human authority. *What ! muſt they maintain their privileges, whether uſeful or hurtful*

hurtful to Society? Legal privileges will hardly ſatisfy a wiſe and good man, but he will conſider the natural juſtice and equity of them, and their conſiſtency with other men's rights and privileges. If out of the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaketh, *what but a corrupt, covetous, proud heart could dictate ſuch advice as this? How ſad a thing is it, that ſuch poiſon ſhould come from the tongue and pen of a* Chriſtian? *How ought we to rend our garments at hearing of ſuch advice? The ſpirit of* Chriſtianity *is wholly unknown to ſuch men: they are wolves in ſheeps cloathing, the miniſters of* antichriſt, *who under the colour and pretence of religion, are driving on a trade for this world, and making the goſpel an engine for profit and pride and ambition.* Maintain all your privileges, *quoth he, whether honeſtly got, or knaviſhly come by! Are theſe then the fruits of your liberal education, of your learning, and your ſtudies, to defend any thing right or wrong? How can oppreſſive privileges, and wicked laws be aboliſhed, when ſuch men ſtudy to maintain and ſupport them?*

Are theſe the men, whoſe profeſſion and buſineſs it is to lead others to peace and holineſs; to teach humility and meekneſs, and to be patterns of all goodneſs? How to reconcile

reconcile ſuch advice to the goſpel of Chriſt, *and the great deſign of his religion, is out of my power. Indeed, ſuch men may believe in* Chriſt, *and they may keep ſo many of his commandments as are neceſſary to cover their hypocriſy; but it is manifeſt that the* world *and the* devil *are in their hearts.*

Such advice was only becoming a man, who told the clergy in his firſt viſitation-charge at Canterbury, *that he would make Dr.* Potter *his pattern! Dr.* Herring, *it ſeems, was too good a Chriſtian, to be imitated by* ——————. *I love a man that is frank and open, that tells us plainly what he deſigns to do, and whoſe life and actions are conſiſtent with his verbal declarations. Dr.* Potter, *it is well known, was a violent enemy to all* free enquirers, *and in the* Bangorian *controverſy joined* Snape, Trap, *and other high-church wolves to ſhake and worry biſhop* Hoadly, *that great* free enquirer! *Where then was the wonder, that* —————— *ſhould go* foaming *to court, and ſollicit a proſecution of a late* free enquirer*, *as this was act-*

 ing

* *Peter Anet*, author of a weekly paper entitled the *Free Enquirer*, who was lately proſecuted in the *King's Bench*, and ſentenced to ſuffer one month's impriſonment in *Newgate*, to ſtand twice in the *pillory*, and to be kept to hard labour for one year in *Bridewell*.

ing in character, in imitation of his pattern? From ſuch a man it were folly to expect the meekneſs and gentleneſs of Chriſt Jeſus, *thoſe virtues not comporting with his profeſſed reſolution to reſemble Dr.* Potter!

But this act of violence, this outrage againſt all humanity * * * *

* * * * * * *

* * * * * * *

* * * * * * *

* * * * * * *

* * * * * * *

* * * * * * *

well. The poor man is near 73 years of age, and without charitable contributions he muſt periſh under his ſentence.

To what puniſhment *perſecuting prelates* ſhall hereafter be condemned, I pretend not to ſay: the righteous Judge of the whole earth will do right: but, perhaps, *hard labour*, and to work in hell, like *Milton*'s devils, may be their doom.

* * * * * * *

* * * * * * *

RICHARD BARON.

Blackheath, May 17, 1763.

P. S. The next ſervice in this glorious cauſe will be a republication of the pillars of prieſt-craft and orthodoxy ſhaken, *in three volumes, with large additions.*

Ex pede *Hercules.*


BRITISH MUSEUM
27
57

THE CONTENTS OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

I.

DEDICATION to a Great Man concerning Dedications, by Mr. Gordon.

II.

A learned Diſſertation upon old Women, Male and Female. By Mr. Gordon.

III.

A modeſt Apology for Parſon Alberoni. *By Mr.* Gordon.

IV.

A modeſt Apology for the Danger of the Church. By Mr. Gordon.

V.

Cardinal Alberoni's *Letter. By Mr.* Gordon.

VI.

The Character of an independent Whig. *By Mr.* Gordon.

VII.

THE CONTENTS.

VII.

Conſiderations offered upon the approaching Peace. *By Mr.* Gordon.

VIII.

Remarks on two Charges. *The Author Mr.* Owen, *of* Rochdale, *in* Lancaſhire.

IX.

A Letter from the Jeſuits to Father De la Pillonniere.

A

DEDICATION

TO A

GREAT MAN,

CONCERNING

DEDICATIONS.

Diſcovering,

Amongſt other wonderful SECRETS, what will be the preſent poſture of affairs a thouſand years hence.

Laus & Vituperium.

From the 6th Edition, Printed in the YEAR 1719.

With a PREFACE.

THE PREFACE.

A *Paſſage or two in this little eſſay having been liable to exceptions, without my foreſeeing it, I am very ready to explain them. By the* Jewiſh pretender, *is meant* Abſolom; *and what is ſaid about the* bible, *is ſo far from any ſatyr on that ſacred book, that it is manifeſtly, and only, one upon them who make but little or no uſe of it.*

As to the characters *and* inſcriptions *at the end, I ſtill think them ſo juſt, that I am not like to repent of them; which may ſerve to ſhew me as much a friend to well grounded panegyric, as I ever ſhall be a foe to all falſe colouring. There is no ſuch thing as praiſe and blame, where they are not applied; and, as I take upon me to expoſe the one, I think I need aſk no pardon for attempting to practiſe the other.*

BRITISH MUSEUM 27 57 SEP

A

DEDICATION

TO A

Great MAN,

Concerning

Dedications, &c.

My LORD,

YOUR lordſhip and I are not at all acquainted, I therefore take leave to be very familiar with you, and to deſire you to be my patron, becauſe you do not know me, nor I you: nor can this manner of addreſs ſeem ſtrange to your lordſhip, whilſt it is war-

ranted by ſuch numerous precedents. I have known an author praiſe an earl for twenty pages together, though he knew nothing of him, but that he had money to ſpare. He made him wiſe, juſt, and religious, for no reaſon in the world, but in hopes to find him *charitable*; and gave him a moſt bountiful heart, becauſe he himſelf had a moſt empty ſtomach. This practice being general, it is a very eaſy matter to gueſs, by the ſize of the panegyric, how wealthy the patron may be, or how hungry the author; if it exceeds three pages, you may pawn all the blood in your body upon it, the writer has faſted three days; and that his lordſhip, among all his other good parts, has at leaſt ten thouſand pounds a year.

From all this we may learn, that a great man's fortune is as eaſily known from a dedication to him, as from the rent-roll of his eſtate; and that his bounty to the author, is only wages for publiſhing his wealth to the world.

It is likewiſe evident, that no lord of a low fortune muſt expect an humble admirer among us wits and writers, unleſs he bargain with us at a ſet price, and give us ſo much a piece for every good quality he has occaſion for.

We muſt not therefore judge of the *high and mighty*, as they are deſcribed in the frontiſpiece of books and poems. Your *dedicators* are a ſort

ſort of *intellectual taylors*, that cut out cloaths for a great man's mind without ever taking meaſure of it. They have, indeed, two rules from which they never depart: firſt, the dreſs muſt be *gaudy*; and, ſecondly, it muſt *never fit*. Their buſineſs is to make it of a vaſt dimenſion, and to cover it all over with *tinſel*. If the ſuit be bulky and ſhining, the poet has the reputation of a ſkilful *tradeſman*; for the *ſtuff* and the *exactneſs* are never conſulted.

I wou'd, upon this occaſion, congratulate the quality upon the advantage which it is to them, to have their characters drawn by ſuch as either do not, or dare not, know them; and conſequently will be ſure not to put their graces, and lordſhips, and ladyſhips, out of countenance——— A convenient piece of good breeding! for which, I hope, they are thankful.

For myſelf, when I ſee a long drift of excellencies and talents crammed down a nobleman's throat, who has no reliſh of them, or right to them, I am not at all ſurprized, becauſe I am ſure it is not meant as an encomium upon his honour, but meerly as a declaration of the author's wants, and a heavy complaint of nakedneſs and hunger.

Some may reckon a dependance on a great man the beſt reaſon and foundation for *dedicating* to him; but I am not of their opinion.

For my part, I have no manner of dependance on any *ſtar and garter* in *Great-Britain*, as any one may obſerve from the chearfulneſs of my looks and the integrity of my life: I own, that ſetting up for a writer, I judged it convenient to me and my book, to call in your lordſhip for an aſſiſtant, but no farther than juſt to ſet off and honour my title-page. I at firſt, indeed, intended to let the whole credit of the thing remain with you, by entitling my pamphlet, *An Eſſay of a Man of Quality*: but my bookſeller, who is a ſmoaky fellow, and underſtands the pulſe of the people perfectly well, fell into a great rage, and aſked me for the five ſhillings again, which he had advanced to me, by way of encouragement, a week before. He told me, he had neither pleaſure nor profit in ſelling *waſte paper* to the grocers at two pence a pound. Why, ſays he, the famous *Daffy* might as rationally have writ *aqua fortis* upon his elixir: *An Eſſay of a Man of Quality!* if I were to chain the book to my compter, it would not make it a more everlaſting ſhopkeeper than this very title: it is as bad as a ſpell; and the moſt adventurous reader will not preſume to open the book that is fortified with it. —— No, no; if you muſt have the front of your book embelliſhed with ſomething of *title*, you may call

call it, *A Letter to a Great Man:* ſince you do not name him, People will naturally imagine there is ſomething in it exceeding ſaucy and ſatyrical; and that very thought will make your pamphlet popular.——I have followed his advice, and am the other five ſhillings the richer for it.

But, as I was telling your lordſhip, reliance on a great man is not a good reaſon for *dedicating* to him; for either he will receive the preſent of your praiſe as a juſt tribute for ſuch your dependance, (and then where is your pay, and the due hire of your ſweat and invention?) or elſe he will reward you with a ſort of coin called *promiſes*, ſtamped with his honour, but never current amongſt ſhopkeepers and victuallers. Alas! who will give you an ell of cloth or a cut of beef upon it? it is a lamentable thing the world ſhould be arrived to ſuch a pitch of ill-breeding, that now-a-days a great man's word and honour are as little minded by the reſt of the world, as by himſelf.

And ſo I will proceed to aſſert, that the only proper patron for an author to inſcribe his works to, is one to whom he is an utter ſtranger, who having had no manner of commerce with the aforeſaid author, can underſtand his dedication to be nothing elſe but an elegant demand for ſuch a ſum of ready money. Dedica-

tions are therefore bills of exchange, drawn by the witty upon the great, and payable at ſight. But, leſt the worthy offering ſhould not be underſtood, or recompenſed as it ought to be, through the deplorable ignorance of the quality, whoſe high characters place them far above the reach of knowledge and the impulſes of humanity, I have, for the benefit of my worthy companions in the labours of the ſtandiſh, drawn up the following form, with which I would have all dedications to conclude.

To the Right Honourable Dives *Earl of* Widefield, *Debtor to* Paul Poorwit, *for the following goods ſold and delivered.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Imprimis, For a large ſtock of learning, very much wanted ——	02	10	00
Item, For a barrel of rare eloquence, admired by all the world, but never yet uſed —— ——	05	00	00
Item, For as much juſtice and honour as a great man has occaſion for,	00	01	1½
Item, For a hogſhead of courage that never ſaw the ſun, —— ——	10	00	00
Item, For half a pound of wit and humour, being all I had to ſpare, but very good in their kind, and dog cheap,—— —— —— ——	01	00	00

Item,

Item, For a long line of lineage, and great quantities of ancient blood, neither of them meaſured, but only gueſſed at, ———	05 00 00
Item, For praiſing your anceſtors, unknown, ———	01 10 00
Item, For admiring your lady's beauty unſight, unſeen, ———	00 10 00
Item, For a graceful perſon, all of my own making, ———	02 10 00
Item, For ſeveral thimble-fulls of generoſity, a ſcarce commodity! ——	00 02 05
Sum Total	28 03 6½

My Lord,

'I Have ſent you the abovementioned goods, being the beſt my garret affords, and at the loweſt price. I hope they will pleaſe you. You will find in the cargo ſeveral things I have not *item'd*, *viz.* A large parcel of virtue, and another of good-nature; becauſe I knew you wanted them as much as any of the reſt.——— Theſe two articles will raiſe the whole to at leaſt even thirty pounds; and I have drawn a bill upon your lordſhip accordingly, which I beg your lordſhip to pay at ſight; for, I aſſure you, I have had preſſing occaſion for the money long before it was due,

'I might have found chapmen for theſe goods 'among very many of the nobility and gentry, 'as unprovided with them as yourſelf; but out 'of pure reſpect to your lordſhip, I reſolved 'you ſhould have the refuſal ——— In firm 'expectation of your approaching bounty,

I am,

My LORD,

Your lordſhip's moſt obliged,

Moſt devoted,

Moſt obedient,

Moſt, &c.

In this plain manner would I have authors treat their patrons. The ſaid thirty pounds may probably be all the poet's ſtock; and wits, dealing the leaſt upon credit, either in ſelling or buying, of any *trading people* in the world, have the more occaſion for ready money.

Your lordſhip may by this perceive, how I expect to be treated and rewarded for the following panegyric on yourſelf.

In attempting your character, (to uſe the faſhionable phraſe) I ſhall begin with the antiquity of your houſe, equally old and illuſtrious. Your anceſtors won honours, and you, my lord, wear them; how well they become you, I need not ſay, the ſame being as evident

to

to the whole world as to me. You would, no doubt, acquire new ones, were there any room left for them; but what occaſion have you to toil and ſtruggle for that which is already provided for you by others? and it is a plain inſtance of your conſummate prudence, that your eaſe is by no means interrupted by any the leaſt purſuit of this kind. If any dare inſolently call in queſtion your glory, ſhew them your coat of arms, and the number of your manors; ſtrike them dumb, by telling them of the nobility of your blood, and blind, by ſhewing them the ſplendor of your race.

Nobility is held by patent, and where is the neceſſity of another tenor by virtue? a piece of parchment is a much more portable inſtrument. Your lordſhip ſeems apprized of the difficulty of excelling in any thing, and therefore wiſely forbears drudging for fame. Your anceſtors excelled for you: they, by having many accompliſhments, have ſaved you the trouble of having any. The luſtre of their names ſhines ſtill upon you, though exceedingly weakened by the length of the journey, having ſpent many of its rays in its paſſage through three or four generations who wanted its influence as much as yourſelf. Thus, if we trace the merit of a great family, it is like the courſe of a river inverted, largeſt towards the fountain.

Should any one make an ill bred compariſon (which God forbid) betwixt your lordſhip and the founders of your houſe, you could ſhew him, or I for you, that you poſſeſs ſeveral arts and acquirements, which the old faſhioned fellows, with all their abilities and long beards, were utter ſtrangers to. If one of your forefathers was a great orator, and could do wonders with his mouth, your lordſhip is as dextrous in the exerciſe of the organ next to it, and can take ſnuff with great volubility of noſtril. What though another of your grandfires was an able politician, a perſon of great cunning and brains? the outſide of his head was not half ſo well inſtructed as your own: you have more curls in the covering of yours, than he had wiles in the lining of his: his was equipped by painful ſtudy, yours is edified by your painful barber. A third was a brave ſoldier, but were he put to handle your cane or your ſnuff-box, he would be at as great a loſs, as you, my lord, would be to handle his truncheon. A fourth ſat up at nights, and lived by his clients; but your lordſhip, more happy and leſs learned, lies a bed all day, and lives by your tenants. All theſe laboured for your grandeur and ſupport, foreſeeing, as one would imagine, that you would have need of their aid.

aid. And it cannot be denied, that it is poſſible one may be ſo *great a man* as to be good *for little*. Wiſdom and worth, we ſee, cannot be entailed like titles and acres. It were, indeed, to be wiſhed, that a wiſe head and an honeſt heart could beget their likeneſs, and that famous men could tranſmit their parts with their titles to their poſterity; but ſince that cannot be, their deſcendants muſt comfort themſelves with being a kin to merit, though ever ſo remotely.

Nothing is more frequent and natural, than to value ourſelves upon that which is none of ours. Of this I have, in my time, ſeen ſeveral merry inſtances. I knew a threſher in *Wiltſhire*, who was ſo elevated upon his brother's being made a parſon, and promoted to a curacy of twenty pounds a year, that he threw away his flail, as a diſcredit to one who was nearly related to ſo great a man, and betook himſelf to poaching in the river, as a more gentleman-like way of life. It was obſerved of him, that ever afterwards he rolled his ſtockings, whereas he had before always humbly buttoned his breeches over them. It is ſaid, he threatens to leave the village where he was born, becauſe the ill-bred inhabitants ſtill continue to ſtile him no higher than bare *Gaffer Thump*,

Thump, as they uſed to do, notwithſtanding that his brother is a curate: but it is thought this high-ſpirited perſon will be diſappointed, for that no pariſh will receive him without a certificate. I would, out of the benignity of my nature, comfort all great men, who have noble blood but vulgar underſtandings, with the repartee of a *weſt country* blackſmith, who, in a diſpute with a barber that called him an ignorant fellow, anſwered, with equal ſcorn, *that though he could neither read nor write, his father had been game-keeper to the lord of a manor*. The barber, who was but the ſon of a barber, finding himſelf out-matched in family, very reſpectfully gave up the diſpute to his betters.

It is ſcarce to be perceived how diffuſive and multiplying a little good blood is: the increaſe of the bleſſed virgin's milk, by the magic and management of *popiſh* monks, is not more miraculous. How many thouſands find themſelves enriched by it, or rather impoveriſhed! for nothing is more apt to turn the brain; and it is often got into the head, when there is not half a drop of it in the arteries.

We may obſerve, by the way, that we are ever neareſt related to the greateſt man of our blood, though removed ſeven generations from him.

him. If our great grandfather, for inſtance, was a wiſe man, and our grandfather and father a brace of fools, we ſkip the two laſt, and become, after a wonderful manner, the immediate deſcendants of the firſt. Thus a man becomes the very next in blood to, perhaps, the firſt of his name, who lived 300 years ago, and ſcorns to be in the leaſt a kin to the perſon that begot him: You ſhall not meet with a *Jew* who is the ſon of his father ——— No, he is the ſon of *Abraham*, who has been dead ſo many thouſand years, and yet is ſtill forced to father a ſwarthy race of brokers and beggars. In the ſame manner has king *Cadwallader* begot every mother's ſon that has been born in *Wales* for five hundred generations. I know a lady, who is far gone in genealogy and pride, whoſe father had, with a great title and eſtate, a great faculty likewiſe of drivelling; him ſhe never mentions, as being, I ſuppoſe, no ways related to him; but a great man of her name, who liv'd in the reign of *William Rufus*, is her good and right well-beloved kinſman——— He was, I take it, either her uncle, or, at fartheſt, her couſin-german.

This picking and culling of our anceſtors, (as if it lay at our mercy, after we are brought into the world, who ſhould bring us thither) ſhews

ſhews great ambition, but ſmall policy. For, certainly, we ſhould be exceeding careful not to mention ourſelves with ſuch of our anceſtors with whom we cannot ſtand a compariſon. A dwarf may ſtrut upon the ſhoulders of a giant, but ſtill his dwarfſhip is the more conſpicuous from the company he keeps; and many a man climbs only to ſhew his elevated littleneſs. This is all wrong.——They that would appear tall, ought to converſe only with the ſhort, if they would take a natural method of coming at the ſcope of their ambition. I therefore approve the prudence and policy of our worſhipful country eſquires and fox-hunters, who, for the ſake of having daily companions, at leaſt ſomething below themſelves in ſpeech and underſtanding, ſpend all their time with dumb creatures, and live and die among horſes and dogs. An honeſt gentleman, whoſe ſpeaking organs would be of no uſe to him in the ſenate or in converſation, ſhall be very eloquent in an aſſembly of hounds, and, with great force and fluency of throat, out do his brother-orators in their own way. The wiſdom of theſe worthies, who are educated in the kennel, goes farther yet; for every man chuſes for his tutor that beagle whoſe voice he

he is moſt capable of imitating: inſomuch, that as ſoon as I hear one of thoſe academics begin his exerciſe, that is, to open, I can preſently pronounce whoſe pupil he has been, whether bred under Doctor *Fowler*, or Doctor *Sweetlips*. At preſent Doctor *Ringwood* is more famous than all the reſt, for the number of ſcholars he has trained up; I know ſeveral of them myſelf, and particularly a hopeful young gentleman, the eldeſt ſon of a baronet, who is a great proficient in this kind of throat-learning.——It is believed he is now fit to head the pack himſelf, in the abſence of his ſaid maſter, the polite Doctor *Ringwood*. When this ingenious young heir diſplays his wind-pipe, his mother's heart beats for joy, and the old knight tells the company, with a wink and a nod, *Harry is father's own ſon.*——Now thus far all is well, when ambition goes hand in hand with capacity. But, Sir *John*, not content with theſe excellencies in himſelf and his ſon, will be ever and anon mentioning the virtues and talents of his anceſtors, who were, indeed, great men: however, the knight never concludes without inſinuating his own praiſe, and that of his heir, by aſſerting, that not one of his forefathers could compaſs a bumper, or fill a hunting-horn.

Having

Having thus my lord, done juſtice to your pedigree, I ſhall proceed next to the conſideration of your fortune.

The founders of families are generally provident enough to ſupport the titles they leave behind them with ſuitable eſtates, which is a moſt commendable care! for, alas! as the world runs, what is blood without riches? money and land are the very touchſtones of quality. Antiquity may be over-looked, but acres are *viſible honours*. Nothing is more illuſtrious than a long rent-roll; without it the moſt ſounding and ſplendid patent has no power over the hearts or hats of an aſſembly. It is confeſſed, neither family nor riches make the leaſt alteration in the human frame. An earldom cannot cure a ſtinking breath, nor make the ſcull half an inch thinner; and a great man may be a dwarf or a ſcoundrel, with half a million of money, or half a country in his poſſeſſion. *Alexander the Great* had a wry neck, (perhaps with carrying the globe upon his back) of which the propriety of the world could not cure him. But I am only talking of *reputed*, and not *real*, greatneſs, and cannot but congratulate your lordſhip upon the *real* kindneſs which is done *you*, in particular, by this diſtinction.

You,

You, my lord, have a double right to reſpect, from your title, and from your affluence. The latter is indeed the leſs worthy; and yet, ſuch is the bigotry of the world to wealth, that were it not for *that*, the former would hardly be regarded. Nay, to deal ingenuouſly with your lordſhip, had I not known you to be rich, I ſhould, perhaps, never have known you to be noble; and then your lordſhip and I ſhould never have been patron and client, nor mankind been inſtructed in your character. I would not therefore, for leſs than *thirty pounds*, that your lordſhip ſhould have wanted this opportunity of obliging poſterity and myſelf. Go on, my lord, in the paths of honour, that is, in the art of getting; and continue to be deſerving, that is, to be rich.

From your lordſhip's wealth it is natural enough to make a tranſition to your lordſhip's wit; ſince, according to the laudable civility of the world, the man who has ſufficiency of bags is ſure to be endowed with ſufficiency of brain. It is very obſervable that though wit has ſeldom or never the ſenſe to fall into the road of gain, and therefore your witty men are the fooliſheſt fellows in the world, that is to ſay, the pooreſt; yet riches, on the contrary, never fail to dubb a fool a wiſe man; and a dunce no ſooner ceaſes to be poor, but he is tranſmuted into *a ſhrewd cunning fellow*.

fellow. The reaſon of this muſt be that the wit of a poor man, lying only in the inſide of his head, is altogether inviſible and unregarded; whereas the wit and parts of the wealthy being entirely without the ſcull, and conſiſting of aſſets and effects, are honoured becauſe they are obvious. A man, who has wit in cheſtfuls, and a genius that conſiſts of ſeveral manors, will never want the praiſes which are due to ſuch uncommon talents. I could mention many worthy citizens who have vaſt capacities at ſea, and are wonderfully witty in warehouſes, and moſt ingenious in bank-ſtock, beſides others whoſe abilities are as conſpicuous in the *Exchequer.*

I cannot but lament, on this occaſion, with a feeling concern, the invincible obſtacles which hinder that unhappy wit, which is meerly internal, from riſing into notice and reputation. Alas! *(abſit invidia verbo)* there is no wit at all in being hungry, and where is the jeſt of having but one ſhirt? a wig without buckle is but dull entertainment, and a thread-bare coat has no manner of force upon the muſcles. I can ſpeak it from experience, there is no joke in an empty purſe. I had therefore no expedient left to procure me a little wit, but the letting out my parts to hire, as I now do

do to your lordſhip. *Thirty pounds*, my lord, frugally managed, will make me a wiſe man for three months together. Your lordſhip, who hath talents of a vaſt extent, for ſeveral miles round you, and vaſt parts in caſh and bank-bills, has not only a ſufficient bulk of penetration and wiſdom to ſerve you for life, but will doubtleſs tranſmit the ſame ſubſtantial accompliſhments undiminiſhed to your poſterity. My lord *Clarendon* tells us, that *Oliver Cromwell*'s abilities ſeemed to raiſe in proportion to his advancement in power: and your lordſhip's wit and ſenſe that are now ſo bulky, and of ſuch mighty circumference, would certainly have been inviſible to the *buzzard* world, to this hour, had not your fortune lifted them and you into obſervation.

I do not ſay all this to prove to your lordſhip, that your lordſhip has a great deal of wit; it is the laſt thing you want to be convinced of.——But it is my ambition to get myſelf a little wit and wiſdom with your money, and it is but reaſonable I ſhould do ſomething for it. I owe my landlady for a quarter's lodging, and my laundreſs for a month's waſhing; they are the two firſt whom I intend to ſatisfy that I am a ſenſible man: for I already find, by their ſour looks, they begin to queſtion my parts. My ſhoe-maker too,

too, and ſeveral other tradeſmen, want ſadly to handle ſome proofs and inſtances of my wit and genius. It would be barbarous in your lordſhip to let me paſs any longer for a fool amongſt theſe fellows, whom one cannot live without. For a ſmall matter of that ſort of good ſenſe, which is called money, I ſhall find admiration among them, and, which is better, credit and new ſhoes. I have often been witty to the beſt of my ſkill, at the tavern, over a bottle of wine; but the blockhead the vintner is ſo dull and covetous, that he can ſee no wit about me, but what I tell out between my finger and my thumb, a piece of ingenuity which I am not always maſter of. O the degeneracy of the age! *Ben Johnſon* has frequently paid his reckoning in a couplet, and lived comfortably and merrily a whole winter's night upon a pun. Alas! I do not believe, in this iron age, a canto of an hundred ſtaves would bring a quart of *Sherry*, or a pound of ſalmon. Many a wit would be forced to pawn his coat (if any perſon would take it) for a dinner, did not the charitable bookſeller advance him half-a-crown on his new poem, and by that means pay him half in hand.

If a certain eminent merchant had not manifeſted his *uncommon underſtanding* in the uncommon

mon number of his ſhips, and his *harmonious diſpoſition* (tuneful would have done better) in the chiming of his bags, *the bluntneſs of the incomparable Mr.* Durfey's *nature* would never have raiſed ſo many *plauditory plants* in the *large field* of the ſaid merchant's commendations: but that venerable lyric knew too well the *eaſineſs of his patron's humour*, not to expect from it an order upon his goldſmith, where the *harmonious knight* keeps the *opulent* marks of his *uncommon underſtanding*. How large a taſte he afforded Mr. *Durfy* of his parts, I know not; what I am to expect from yours, my lord, I know, and ſo will your lordſhip too, when you have peruſed this *uncommon dedication*.

I have, by this time, I hope with ſufficient clearneſs, diſplayed to my readers, that is, to the whole world, *the quality and extent* of your lordſhip's wit. If I have but little to ſay of your eloquence, it is becauſe you have hitherto ſhewn but little. But this is owing to nothing but choice and reſervedneſs on your part: Your modeſty, my lord, like a pot-lid, ſmothers the overflowings of your ſpirit, and ſuppreſſes the ebullition of your rhetoric. It becomes me to believe you could do wonders this way, if you would. Why will you thus neglect and conceal your abilities, and obſtinately

perſiſt

perſiſt to be only a hearer in the ſenate. I do not queſtion, but even this omiſſion and ſeeming indolence is praiſe-worthy, and public-ſpirited. Your lordſhip, no doubt, conſiders, that the very liſteners in public aſſemblies, are promoting the trade of their country, while they conſume ſnuff, and wear out handkerchiefs. Thus is the intereſt of mankind advanced by idleneſs and incapacity itſelf.

Beſides when I reflect how much tongue-artillery is daily waſted without doing the leaſt execution, I muſt applaud it as a piece of prudence and humanity in your lordſhip, to avoid the ſhedding of innocent words. How many excellent orators have we, who are inſtructive without being underſtood, ſevere without being felt, and loud without being heard. What pity is this! commend me to thoſe that ſit ſtill and take ſnuff, becauſe they have nothing to ſay. I have often lamented and ſighed in my cloſet, that men's tongues ſhould have more ſpeed than their underſtandings. When our ſpirits are heavy and grave, it is but reaſonable the tongue ſhould be ſhod with lead. But, alas! our chops, when once they are ſet a going, generally ſhew our intellects a pair of heels, and gallop away with ſuch fleetneſs, that even the memory itſelf is diſtanced, as ſwift as it is.

Were

Were the tongue only to move by the direction of good ſenſe, how many worthy *Engliſh* gentlemen and fine ladies would live and die ſecretly dumb? This putting of the jaws upon hard labour without profit, and committing a rape upon peoples ears without the conſent of their hearts, is a notorious nuiſance and breach of the peace. It is an offence to others, and a diſtemper in ourſelves. This diſeaſe I call the *upward looſeneſs*; and it is in ſeveral reſpects as nauſeous as that below; nay, it ſometimes equally affronts the ſenſe of ſmelling, as when the ſpeaker's lungs are not over orthodox, or ſo.

It is really a miſerable caſe, that when a chattering booby finds himſelf loaded with a turbulent quantity of words and wind, which he has a mind to diſcharge, I muſt be obliged to ſtand the ſhot of his noiſe and naſtineſs for perhaps an hour or two together. This, I am ſure, is contrary to the rules of equity and cleanlineſs; but it ſeems I am bound to it by the laws of courteſy and good breeding.

What I have here ſaid of loquacity, concerns only private converſation: But when this inſult upon our ſenſes appears in public aſſemblies, it is yet more intolerable. Why muſt prating oafs (empty of every thing but froth and clamour) be for ever ſuffered, without rebuke,

to be ſpewing up their ill-ſcented crudities in the faces of men that are either wiſe or brave? I would humbly propoſe, for the eaſe of this Chriſtian country, that whenever an orator of this ſort begins to gape and ſtrain, one of the company ſhall go up to him, and, taking hold of his button, tell him, *Sir, I am ſorry to ſee you troubled with ſo violent a vomiting*: Or, perhaps, it may be more proper, without ſaying a word, to run with a chamber-pot, and hold it up to his chin. For this purpoſe, I would decree, that every place of public meeting in this iſland be provided with one or more of theſe *neceſſary veſſels*, either to receive or reſtrain the overflowings of indigeſted oratory. If one of theſe *emetic ſpeakers* cannot conveniently be come at, it is only crying, *To the chamber-pot*; and, if he has ſhame in him, he will grow well, and ſit down.

There is ſomething exceeding inſolent in theſe long-winded talkers. What right has any man living to lay an embargo upon my throat, when at the ſame time he keeps his own open? He that uſurps the whole diſcourſe, lays this modeſt injunction upon the whole company; namely, *to be ſilent, and hear him.*

The ladies, indeed, who underſtand their privileges much better than we do ours, are not enſlaved by our rules; but, though there be a ſcore of

of them together, exert the faculty of ſpeech all at once: And really, if we do but remember that it is their whole buſineſs and ambition to be only voluble, without troubling themſelves with being intelligible, we cannot blame them for exerciſing their tongues, as they do their fans, in all weathers, merely for a little parade, or becauſe they are uſed to it. Ladies, therefore, when they are fluttering either of theſe inoffenſive inſtruments, ought not to be interrupted with the offer of the chamber-pot; for, if it be only the pravity of the intention that makes actions criminal, it is evident they can be no offenders, who ſpeak without any intention at all. I know the fair prattlers are ſo overſtocked with ſelf-denial, that they will humbly diſown this my juſtification of them, as what they do not deſerve; but I am reſolved to perſiſt, and make them innocent in ſpite of themſelves. But as for thoſe of my own ſex, who are addicted to purge at the mouth, I ſhall never revoke my decree againſt them, or any of them, except ſuch as honour the truth, and freely confeſs, that though they talk much, they mean nothing. And, indeed, it cannot be denied, that very many well meaning perſons are rhetorical for no reaſon in the earth, but becauſe they are not retentive; and ſo are forced to *break*

words purely for *their eaſe*. When a man's tongue is always ready bridled and ſaddled, he cannot help it if it will run away with him.

This kind of eloquence, like an ill breath, is curable but one way, and that is, by tying a certain ligature, called a halter, round the patient's neck, and girding it, until you have quite ſtopped up the gutter through which the aforeſaid excrements do iſſue.

But as this remedy might prove ſomewhat dangerous to many thouſands of his majeſty's good ſubjects, I ſhall be cautious in recommending this public ſpirited project, though I am fully convinced it would effectually deſtroy all his enemies within theſe his dominions. But as I am a friend to the tranquility and noſes of mankind, I will make bold to preſcribe a *ſuccedaneum*; that is to ſay, an equivalent for hanging.

As a ſpecific, therefore, againſt the dreadful effects of this fœtid and epidemical diſtemper, I would adviſe the ſick body, when the fit is coming upon him, (which he will perceive by an ungovernable agitation in his jaws, and an inceſſant rattling in his throat) to withdraw himſelf immediately from company, and employ theſe indefatigable organs in running over a chapter or two in the bible. People, I know, particularly my *patients*, will make a horrid

outcry

outcry againſt the *diſtaſtefulneſs* of this remedy, but that can be no objection againſt the uſe of it, ſince the *bittereſt drugs* are often the moſt ſucceſsful. Beſides, it is well known, that all medicines that *diſpoſe to ſleep*, are *harſh* and *unpalatable*. Of this nature are the numerous and powerful opiats, which come daily from the preſs and the pulpit. A doſe or two of ſcripture, if people would but be perſuaded to take it, *(Sed hic labor, hoc opus eſt!)* would compoſe thoſe convulſions of the chaps, and that flux of ſpeech which hitherto have been thought incurable. But let none deſpair; for though their mouths be dry, and their lips chapped with the perpetual evacuation of eloquence and ſpittle; though their heads ach with nodding, and their eyes with winking; nay, though their throats ſhould be riven with hemming, and their wind-pipes with ſtraining; nay, even though their very arms ſhould be jaded with explaining their ſtories, and their canes worn out with enforcing their orations, yet I, the Doctor, will by the bleſſing of the *bible* on my endeavours, work a *perfect cure*.

This ſecret, which I found out by great induſtry and long ſtudy, I might, like other great phyſicians, have kept to myſelf; but I prefer knowledge, and the good of mankind, to *living in ignorance, and keeping a coach*.

For your many excellent ſpeakers that cannot read, I muſt find out ſome other cure. Perhaps it may be no ineffectual method to aſk them, whether they will give what they ſay under their hands, and to preſent them at the ſame time with pen, ink, and paper: You ſhall find they will immediately grow ſhy of *atteſting it in ſo ſolemn a manner*, and ſo *recover* to avoid diſgrace. *N. B.* This remedy effectually cures talkative beaus.

As to the ladies, who hate every thing that is *unpleaſant or unfaſhionable*, I know my *Scripture-Specific* will never go down with them without a great deal of art. Theſe genteel well-bred *patients* would think me a ſtrange rude fellow, ſhould I adviſe them to ſo *vulgar a thing* as the reading of an *old book*; and ſo I find I muſt grow cunning, that I may not be thought clowniſh. Being well acquainted with the inquiſitive ſpirit which is in them, I intend to recommend the bible to them as a book that contains many ſtrange adventures, and many ſecrets which they never heard of before: There they will find gallantry and intrigues, ſongs, dances, and pretty fellows; mobbings, rebellions, and the church; hereditary right, and a *Jewiſh pretender*, who was a very handſom man, but had his title and complexion both ruined by the gallows; and there they will find courts,

courts, raviſhings, and adultery, and every thing that can pleaſe and entertain them: Beſides, the book is finely bound and gilt. I mention the ſtrongeſt motive laſt, becauſe they may remember it moſt.

I am ſenſible few of our fine ladies are furniſhed with this uſeful book, the ſame being got intirely into the hands of their ſervants, and other mean people, who are poor enough to be good Chriſtians. I muſt therefore acquaint the quality, that the ſaid book, called a *bible*, may be met with at the bookſellers; Mr. *Baſket*, encouraged, I ſuppoſe, by this project of mine, having not long ſince ventured upon a new impreſſion; otherwiſe, it is thought, bibles might, in a ſmall time, have been out of print.

To convince the whole world that I am altogether diſintereſted in this uſeful diſcovery, I muſt in juſtice to myſelf, declare, that I have never ſeen the colour of Mr. *Baſket*'s money; for though I belong to the ſociety for the *reformation of manners*, I do utterly decline the *uſual perquiſites* ariſing from the execution of that office. If Mr. *Baſket* indeed ſhould force a bribe upon me, I know the courteſy of my nature will by no means ſuffer me to affront ſo worthy a perſon by a rigid refuſal, it being my ſted-

faſt principle to ſuffer rather than reſiſt, upon ſuch powerful trials; as many of our good and modeſt doctors are forced into greatneſs and biſhoprics, in ſpite of their obſtinate and repeated *Nolo*. But, though I ſhall not fall out with Mr. *Baſket* for a ſmall matter, I proteſt before hand, that if he offers me above a hundred guineas, I ſhall be ſtrangely ſurprized.

However, if Mr. *Baſket* behaves himſelf as *he ought to do*, upon this occaſion, I intend to make over to him, his heirs, and aſſigns, the right of printing and publiſhing my works for the ſpace of three hundred years; at the end of which time, I do will and ordain, that the ſaid right ſhall become general, and enrich the whole body of bookſellers, without diſtinction; requiring them, however, as a public emolument for ſo public a benefit, to apply a ſmall portion of their profits towards pulling down the cathedral-church of St. *Paul*, and rebuilding the ſame in a manner worthy of me and my country, the honour whereof is hereby conſulted, as well as the reputation of Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*. I ſhould be willing to retrieve his credit ſooner, but as the ſaid fabric is never mentioned among works of architecture, the preſent architect's name lies ſafely concealed.

I do alſo will and appoint, that in the year 2718, that is to ſay, a thouſand years hence, the ſaid company of bookſellers ſhall, at my expence, that is to ſay, out of the revenues accruing from my works, erect two marble ſtatues to the prince then reigning, the one at *Charing-Croſs*, and the other before the theatre at *Oxford*, with the following inſcriptions.

Upon that at Charing-Croſs.

" TO *George the Twentieth*, by the grace of
" God King of *Great-Britain*, and Emperor
" of all *Europe*, arbitrator of the peace of *Aſia*,
" and defender of the faith; pious, clement,
" juſt; the nurſing father of liberty and man-
" kind; bold for truth, religion, law, in op-
" poſition to tyranny, perſecution, ſuperſtition:
" his zeal tempered with charity, his virtue with
" affability: a prince of unparalleled ſelf-de-
" nial, who loſes the appearance of much glory
" by concealing the ſubſtance: By preventing
" neceſſities and oppreſſions he prevents the re-
" nown of relieving them. Thus is his merit the
" more excellent by being leſs viſible. The joys
" and fears of his ſubjects are his own: Their
" peace is the end of all his wars, and his wars
" the means of their peace. He is magnanimous

" and wary. His courage never betrays want
" of circumſpection, nor his circumſpection want
" of courage; they are both eminent. His li-
" berality is not confined to worth revealed, but
" generouſly contributes to raiſe it; others have
" rewarded merit, but he makes it. He is hap-
" py in the choice and talents of his miniſters,
" and they in the favour and fortune of their
" maſter. In ſhort, this mighty emperor ſeems,
" in his whole life and royal virtues, to copy
" out, with great exactneſs and ſucceſs, the moſt
" glorious and popular of all his numerous ance-
" ſtors, *George the firſt*; whoſe name, notwith-
" ſtanding the duſt and forgetfulneſs with which
" other great princes and their atchievements
" are covered, is ſtill freſh and amiable in our
" hiſtory and converſation: it was he who laid
" the foundation of the ſettled proſperity of our
" country, and the continued freedom of *Europe*,
" aided by the counſels and negotiations of *Sun-*
" *derland*, *Stanhope*, and *Cadogan*, great ſtateſmen,
" of ſuperior capacities and boundleſs humani-
" ty. By *their* miniſtration, in *this* reign, was
" firſt ſhaken, and, at laſt, overthrown, a formi-
" dable race of ancient pagans (long ſince extinct)
" named *papiſts*, the blind and bloody ſlaves of a
" wily wizzard at *Rome*, who, by the magic of
" falſhood and ignorance, and by continued and

" un-

" unrelenting murders, poiſoned, ſtupified, and
" miſled chriſtendom for many centuries. A-
" mong the deathleſs glories of that king's reign
" was his having for his ſubject *John* Duke of
" *Marlborough*, ſurnamed the *great*, who for victo-
" ries, triumphs, and clemency, *firſt* ſhaded the
" luſtre of *Julius* and the great *Macedonian*. Him
" all ſucceeding heroes, guided by his example,
" and fired by his ſucceſſes, have ſtrove to emu-
" late, but could never equal. Then alſo flou-
" riſhed the immortal Mr. *Addiſon*, whoſe fame
" is in every mouth, and his works in every
" hand. In his writings are ſtill ſeen, in all their
" freſhneſs and glory, the divine atchievements
" of *William the third*, and the mighty *Marlbo-*
" *rough*. The want of ſuch a genius and ſuch a
" pen, is the grief and misfortune of the preſent
" times, and has been the complaint of every
" age between him and us. To compleat the
" praiſes of that reign, *Parker* preſided in the
" ſenate, and out of it, controlled the law; *King*
" the bench, and *Hoadly* the mitre.

" In this place, ſome ages ſince, ſtood a brazen
" *equeſtrian* ſtatue of an old *Britiſh* king,* whoſe
" name is omitted, becauſe his reign was unfor-
" tunate and his end unhappy. His bigotry to
" the eccleſiaſtics was his foible, and at length
" his deſtruction. Whilſt, deluded with their
" falſe incenſe, and miſtaking ſelf-intereſt in

* CHARLES I.

" them for loyalty to him, he made them more
" than ſubjects, he made himſelf leſs than a ſo-
" vereign. He broke the conſtitution, becauſe it
" would not bend, and baniſhed the laws becauſe
" they would not flatter. He ſacrificed the crown
" to exalt the mitre, and oppreſſed his ſubjects to
" ſupport the crown. Monarchy and the church
" became at laſt hateful, by making themſelves
" dreadful, and, by graſping at too much, loſt all.
" The nation, after twelve years patience un-
" der the continued aſſaults of rapine and ty-
" ranny, had a fortuitous but favourable oppor-
" tunity put into their hands, to relieve them-
" ſelves. They ſoon found themſelves ſtrong,
" and therefore grew unmanageable, and con-
" founding ſlavery with obedience, ſhook off
" both. The reſt is too tragical.

" The whole hiſtory of this ill-adviſed prince,
" is a panegyric upon his preſent majeſty, who
" fortifies his throne, and bleſſes his people, by
" following cloſely the wiſdom and example of
" his great anceſtor above mentioned, the firſt
" of his name.

Upon the ſtatue at Oxford.

" TO *George the twentieth*, by the grace of
" God, *&c.* A prince, whoſe ſtrongeſt right
" to govern mankind proceeds from his being

" the

" the beſt and wiſeſt of mankind. Nothing can
" equal the peoples affection to their monarch,
" but the monarch's benevolence to his people.
" A noble emulation! their happineſs is his
" ſtudy; his ſafety is their care. He rules by
" deſerving to rule: this is his opinion, this his
" practice. He owns no right from heaven, but
" to do good, nor from men, but to protect them.
" He deteſts being a tyrant, *becauſe his anceſtors*
" *were kings*. He thinks it diabolical reaſoning,
" that, becauſe he ought to defend, he may there-
" fore deſtroy. That kings are the ordinances
" of God, merely for being the ſcourges of God,
" he thinks to be a propoſition as dreadful as
" abſurd, which may, with equal juſtice, entitle
" robbers and murderers to impunity and non-
" reſiſtance. The people are not jealous of the
" prince's power, nor the prince of the people's
" liberty. He glories in being limited by the
" law of the land, but more in being unlimited
" by the love of his ſubjects. His wiſdom and
" power are employed for them; their hearts and
" their purſes are open to him; both happy in
" mutual and unreſtrained confidence. He loves
" all his ſubjects, and is by *all* his ſubjects be-
" loved; this renowned nurſery of learning ſet-
" ting an illuſtrious copy of religion and loy-
" alty to the remoteſt nations of his empire.

" And

" And yet from this ſeat of knowledge *formerly* iſſued many black miſts of prejudice and ignorance, and even the peaceful muſes were drawn into ſedition and outrages. The blackeſt perjuries and moſt deſtructive principles were openly encouraged and defended; and religion was brought into real danger, to keep the church out of it. Every action and every name that did honour to the nation and to mankind, was blackened and depreſſed, whilſt the vileſt villanies againſt truth and liberty were countenanced and extolled. Honeſt men were brow-beaten, weak men deluded, and profligates ſupported and protected; religious houſes were pulled down by the drunken rabble, and the church vindicated by blaſpheming mobs. Hereditary right was ſupported by perjury, and non-reſiſtance by rebellion. Men of virtue and ſobriety were termed fanatics, and the defenders of peace, liberty, and law, republicans: But *George the firſt*, who had all thoſe evils in a particular manner to ſtruggle with, as being levelled at *his perſon and title*, at laſt overcame them all. He reformed the prieſthood and purified the univerſity, and, in ſpite of pride, intereſt, and a degeneracy almoſt total, reconciled theſe haughty bodies of men to *evangelical religion* and *legal obedience*. He was the founder of our preſent greatneſs;

" for

" for arriving at which, he choſe and practiſed the
" moſt natural, moſt amiable arts. He made the
" good of mankind the meaſure of his power;
" and by making his ſubjects wiſe and virtuous,
" taught them to be great. He made his people
" powerful, and they him irreſiſtible. Dying, he
" left behind him ſuch a pattern of government,
" which has never failed to render all ſucceeding
" kings, who have followed it, proſperous and
" popular. This they have all attempted, but
" his preſent majeſty with the moſt ſucceſs.

" Of the reign of *George the firſt* no more
" needs be ſaid; it ſhines, at this diſtance, in the
" hiſtories and poems of that time; a time
" fruitful in men of learning and genius, fa-
" voured and patronized, *more particularly*, by the
" *then Duke of Newcaſtle*,* who, from his early in-
" fancy to the end of a *moſt diſtinguiſhed and ho-
" nourable life*, gave *infinite proofs* of a large
" ſoul, and a diſintereſted love to mankind,
" liberty, and the more elegant arts. But the
" character of that *great and popular lord* is well
" known, and his memory honoured in the ſame
" degree as was his life.

* The preſent Duke, 1762, of whom all we ſhall ſay is, that our author's prophecy hath failed in this inſtance.

My

My LORD,

After an abſence of ſeveral pages, I again return to your lordſhip, who muſt, to excuſe me, conſider, I have been attending a much greater man: but having now, I hope, ſufficiently inſtructed poſterity about erecting and *dedicating* the above-named ſtatues, and having made ample proviſions for the expence of the ſame, I am once more at your ſervice.

I ſhould now proceed to diſplay and extol, as becomes me, your lordſhip's great piety and gallantry, the gravity of your carriage, and the livelineſs of your behaviour, the grandeur of your deportment, and the humility of your converſation; and, *moſt particularly*, I ſhould celebrate your great generoſity to myſelf, and your great frugality to all the world: and your lordſhip may depend upon it, I will very ſoon gratify my own ambition, by equipping you with all theſe great gifts, and many more.

At preſent a thing has happened, which interrupts me in the diſcharge of this my neceſſary duty. A thing, which the ſhyneſs of my nature will have me to conceal from all the world, but ſo good and loving a friend as your lordſhip. *My lord*, it is now twelve o' clock, and I want a dinner; and, alas! I doubt my bookſeller will not truſt me with a ſhilling, without mort-

mortgaging theſe my papers into his hands for the ſum aforeſaid. Thus muſt half your lordſhip, that is, half your character, be pawned, that I may dine. Be aſſured of hearing from me ſoon, for I have your *meaſure*, and, as becomes *your faithful taylor*, will finiſh *your ſuit* with all ſpeed. I am, with wonderful devotion, and great haſte (it is now a quarter after twelve)

My very good lord,

Your lordſhip's moſt dutiful

and moſt obedient humble ſervant.

P. S. To avoid the envy that eminent writers muſt ever expect, I have determined not to put my name to my work, until the thirtieth edition of this treatiſe, which perhaps may not be this month yet; by which time it is preſumed, that all thoſe who detract from its excellencies will be hiſſed into ſilence and ſhame by the whole world.

I deſigned to have ſubjoined at the end a table of the *principal matters*, as other great authors have done, but, going about it, I quickly found I muſt tranſcribe the whole book into an index, and ſo gave it over.

A Learned

A Learned

DISSERTATION

UPON

OLD WOMEN,

MALE and FEMALE,

SPIRITUAL and TEMPORAL,

In all Ages.

Whether in *Church*, *State*, or *Exchange-Alley*.

Very ſeaſonable to be read at all Times, but eſpecially at all particular Times.

To which is added,

An ESSAY upon the preſent UNION of the WHIG-CHIEFS.

Firſt printed in the YEAR 1720.

IT is recorded in the memories of divers ſtory-tellers in and about this metropolis, that the ſage and eloquent Dr. *Byfield*, who goeth about, pouring forth his divine breathings in coffee-houſes, and preſenting his books *gratis* to all who will pay him for them: I ſay it is credibly reported, that the ſaid doctor having a ſuit in chancery with a certain chymiſt, and a venerable ſerjeant being of counſel for his adverſary; he, the ſaid doctor, humbly moved my lord chancellor that Mrs. *Byfield*, the wife of him the ſaid doctor, might be allowed to anſwer and refute the harangue of him the ſaid ſerjeant; and mark the reaſon! *for* (ſaid the doctor) *ſhe, my lord, is an old woman too!*

Whether this his requeſt was granted, or only entered upon record, the tradition ſayeth not. If the challenge was not accepted, ſurely it is great pity; ſeeing that from a match ſo natural, and a contention ſo equal, much elegant entertainment would have reſulted to the grave and learned brothers (or, ſhall I rather ſay, *ſiſters*) of the long robe, who, during the ſtrife, muſt have ſtood ſtrangely and equally poized

poized in their affections and wiſhes, as being equally allied to either combatant. I have, indeed, heard it urged, by the partizans of the old woman in petticoats, that the other in the coif, jealous of his reputation, and doubtful how the iſſue might determine the prize of eloquence, fled the pit, and left inglorioufly, his antagoniſt whetting her gums, and mumbling revenge. But the learned and acute ſir ———, knight, ſerjeant at law, does, *with great ſubmiſſion, conceive,* that this laſt *clauſe* of the tradition wants *proof.*

I muſt own it would have been exceeding unnatural and unſcriptural for Mrs. *Byfield* and the ſerjeant to have entered the liſts againſt each other, upon this occaſion; or, indeed, upon any other whatſoever: foraſmuch as it is written in the hundred thirtieth and third pſalm, verſe the firſt; *behold how good and how pleaſant it is for BRETHREN to dwell together in unity:* And, therefore, it is my own private opinion of this matter, that the whole bench and bar, taking it into their ſerious conſideration, as what might affect them all, offered their mediation, and ſtopped the progreſs of their pernicious difference. And in this I have the concurring opinions of——— and ——— and ——— and ——— and———.

and

and ——— with ſeveral others, all *able lawyers*, and parties concerned.

There is a waggiſh acquaintance of mine, who carries the analogy between old women and grave bariſters, further than, in my judgment, need requires he ſhould. 'Do not 'you obſerve, ſays he, that they have the ſame 'enmity to ſilence, and poſſeſs the ſame eter-'nal wetneſs of beard? pray diſtinguiſh, if 'you can, between pleading and ſcolding; 'and, whatever you do, mark that hobbling 'amble in their gate; that involuntary nod 'of the head; that contracted plodding fore-'head; that wiſe unmeaning face, and theſe 'deſolate gums! and then, confeſs the invinci-'ble likeneſs —— I would furthermore put 'you in mind of their equal taſte in dreſs, 'and their equal reſemblance therein ——— 'black gowns and red petticoats! two co-'lours, in which it is hard to ſay, whether my 'lord J—e mimics *granny*, or *granny* my 'lord J—e! *granny* moreover wears forward 'night-cloaths, and ties her pinners before, 'to hide a bald-pate; and Mr. Serjeant, and 'his betters, bury their faces in mighty peri-'wigs, which inviron either chap and lie, 'like comely mares tails, on either breaſt——

'for

'for why, they are only hairy machines to 'conceal long ears!'

At the aſſizes in *Caermarthen-Shire*, ſome years ago, a *Welſhman*, who had never ſeen ſo fine a ſhew before, aſked a neighbour of his, who was knowing in theſe matters, 'what 'ſhentleman was that upon the pench in hur 'cown, and hur pelt, and hur plack cap?' *Why, marry, quoth* Morgan, *hur is an old woman, that takes hur nap upon hur cuſhion, and then hur tells the ſhewry hur tream.*

It is plain from St. *Paul*, that old wives fables were current and prevailing in his time, and he warns St. *Timothy* (the moſt reverend, the lord archbiſhop of *Epheſus*) againſt them; deſiring *his grace*, to *exerciſe himſelf rather unto godlineſs*. But notwithſtanding that the apoſtle's works are ſtill read, though they do not ſay a word of *South-Sea* ſtock; yet old wives are in as good eſteem as ever, and their tales bear as good a price. There is particularly a numerous tribe of ancient gentlewomen, called *Schoolmen* and *fathers*, who are reputed a company of venerable goſſips, whoſe evidence may be taken in trials about *Norwich* crapes, wide-kneeed breeches, the power of the conſtables, the primitive inſtitution of pariſh-clerks, the decimation of eggs by the original patent, whoring, ſcolding, and

and courteſying toward the riſing ſun; and the like momentous points between men and monks.

But it is very true, that theſe old bodies do often contradict one another in their evidence; either becauſe they know not the truth, or will not ſpeak it; both which are frequently the caſe ———. But here a ready expedient is offered; for the *pious* attornies, who produce them, modeſtly reject every part of the evidence which makes againſt them, as *forged* or *erroneous*, and are pleaſed only to accept ſo much of the ſame, as makes for them, as undoubtedly *genuine* and *valid*. And if no part of it will ſerve their turn; yet we, the defendants, are bound to believe that it does; and that is as well. For the *pious* attornies above-written, claim, from time immemorial, a right to be proſecutors, and judges, and witneſſes; at leaſt, witneſſes for their witneſſes, in every law-ſuit which they undertake. And, if we do not acquieſce in all this, a lawyer of this ſort has told us, what ſentence we are to expect; even this, *G—d d—mn you and yours to all eternity*. (Tale of a Tub in 12*mo. p.* 104.)

The admirers and followers of theſe old duſty goſſips are themſelves of the ſame character and predicament; for, as the ſaying is, *old women of*

all religions are the ſame. We are not therefore to wonder, if we find, in the whole breed, an equal appetite for flogging, hoarding, backbiting and ſcolding. From gammar *Aaron* down to gammar *Satanaſius*, and from gammar *Satanaſius* down to gammar *Becket*, and from gammar *Becket* down to gammar *Laud*, and from gammar *Laud* (keeping ſtill in the ſame *ſee*) down to gammar ——— you find the ſelf ſame ſpirit, and the ſelf-ſame arts. The multitude have been ſtill bubbled, and taught or ſcared into the worſhip of golden calves, or black calves, or ſome other ſorts of calves: and the ſame lying, falſhood, and cruelty, have gone on in an *uninterrupted line of ſucceſſion*, and uninterrupted ſubmiſſion.

It is marvellous and inconceivable, the ſtupidity and duncibleneſs of mankind. 'O 'world! when wilt thou come out of thine 'infancy, and aſſume a beard; and a mind 'worthy of that beard! learn to deſpiſe *long* '*coats*; reject thy leaders and thy leading-'ſtrings, ſtand upon thy own legs; be of 'age; look round thee, and diſtinguiſh, at laſt, 'truth and freedom from reſtraint and diſ-'guiſes. But in caſe, my deareſt child, that 'thou art already ſuperannuated; as, conſider-'ing the greyneſs of thy head, and the green-'neſs of thy behaviour, I fear me thou art; 'then

'then, O reverend granny, loſt is my la-
'bour, and vain are my inſtructions! I will,
'however, bear my teſtimony in thy behalf,
'and ſhew thee, with the help of thy ſpecta-
'cles, how thou art ever ridden by old wo-
'men, thyſelf an old woman!'

Queen *Semiramis* was the greateſt King that ſwayed the ſcepter of *Aſſyria*, and exceeded by far all that ſucceeded her. She was indeed a moſt valiant man, but very lewd, which is no fault in princes; what is very common being very pardonable. To her ſucceeded her ſon, King *Sardanapalus* the Queen, who from his infancy was an *old woman*, and very naturally ſpent all his time, and his ſpinning, amongſt young ones. But, for all the harmleſſneſs of this he queen, he met an untimely fate, and violent hands were laid upon the *Lord's anointed*, to the great grief of all the *true churchmen*, that is, the *genuine* worſhippers of *Bell and the dragon*, of thoſe days.

Thoſe who came after him were for the moſt part like him; and from *Semiramis* to the end of the *Babylonian* monarchy, which laſted for ſeveral ages, all the Kings proved to be of the female gender, except herſelf. When the monarchy was tranſlated to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, there was but one Emperor, and that was

Cyrus, who happened to be a man: all the reſt were old women; creatures that lived in their dining rooms, admired their fine furniture, wore rich brocades, played with their monkeys, beat and bit and ſcratched their ſervants, and drank cawdle, the tea of the time; and, in fine, ſaid and did, juſt as do and ſay our aged counteſſes in the other end of the town.

At length the magicians, or prieſts of the *eſtabliſhed church* of *Babylon*, having great intereſt at court, and encouragement from the prince, knocked him on the head in return for his love; and, by the murder of his whole race, and further cruelty and craft, ſeated themſelves in his throne, and yet kept the murder and uſurpation a ſecret from all the world, for ſome time. But the reigning conjurer being, like the reſt of the tribe, given to wenching, a miſtreſs of his was directed by her brother, who ſuſpected ſacred roguery, to ſearch his majeſty's head for ears; and, upon inquiry, ſhe found he had none. For, it had happened, ſome time before, that the whole order had their lugs lopped off, for ſome pious pranks by them played.

Upon this diſcovery, the grandees invaded the royal palace, *alias*, the royal brothel, and put

put all theſe *old women*, that is to ſay, the *clergy*, that is to ſay, the *uſurpers*, to the ſword. So here ended the reign (though not the roguery) of theſe *conſecrated monarchs, or ſpiritual ſovereigns*, or *pagan popes*, or *cropped prelates*, or *repreſentatives* of ——'s perſon, or, *&c.*

Proceed we next to the election of a new *old woman*. For the lineal entail was broken in the murther of *Adam*'s heir at law, by the *Babylonian* parſons; though ſome of their brethren ſince have pretended to patch it together again, impoſſibilities being of no weight in the ſchemes of *magicians*.

In this election, one *Darius* carried the diadem by the merit of his ſtonehorſe; which ſtone-horſe, had it not been for the folly or partiality of the nobility, ought to have mounted that throne; and then might have been alledged, what now cannot be alledged, namely, that once in a century a creature of ſome *manhood* filled it.

It is the opinion of that able critic and caballiſt, *Rabbi Nick Nack Ben Dry Pate*, that the hiſtorians are all liars and dunces in the account they pretend to give of this matter *For*, ſays he, *I will lay an even wager of fifty to one, that when the crown of* Perſia *was, by a vote of the judicious houſe of L——ds there, hung*

upon a nag's noſtrils, whoſe neighing was to create a maſter of mankind, and declare the Lord's anointed; Darius *did not act by the craft of his groom (which is the opinion of* Cteſias, Beroſus, Plutarch, *&c.) but by the counſel of his* CHAPLAIN, *who adviſed him, as ſoon as ever he came to the randying ground, to bray with all his might; and if you take this method, added the ſage Doctor, and bray with becoming vehemence, by* G—— *I will venture my ſoul upon it, you are monarch of the Eaſt. For,* continued his Reverence, *in ſuch a hurry and diſcord of the paſſions, as will neceſſarily fill every breaſt upon ſo great an occaſion, who will diſtinguiſh Cheſnut's voice from your lordſhip's voice, or a* F—— *from a pair of bag-pipes? Rabbi Nicknack* adds, that Earl *Darius*, finding this expedient the eaſieſt and moſt natural to him of all the expedients in the world, whenever he found himſelf upon the place of trial, clapped his finger to one noſtril, and brayed with the other, with ſo bewitching and ſo *royal* an accent, that the whole houſe of NOBLES, then preſent, whipped off their hats, and bowing with their faces to the earth, as if the chaplain himſelf, or an altar had ſtood in their way, cried out with one accord, *O King* Darius, *live for ever.* He was then taken and crowned, being firſt

anointed,

anointed, and having taken an oath to defend the rights of the clergy and convocation; the archbiſhop performing the ceremony, the reverend Dr. *Tygris* reading prayers, and the chaplain aforeſaid preaching the ſermon, which was ordered to be printed *by his majeſty's ſpecial command*; and he had the firſt good living that fell.

So eaſily are kingdoms earned, and by ſuch certain ſigns and criterions does heaven point out the perſons of princes; who being of divine inſtitution, the divine will muſt, in the caſe before us, be exceeding clearly conveyed through the ſnout of a horſe, or of an aſs; a very uſual vehicle or inſtruction, in all ages and climates!

But as every old woman that totters under a crown, rules, or ſcolds, or blaſphemes, or murders, or burns, by divine appointment; ſo the old women, *alias* Emperors of *Perſia*, continued to plague mankind, and miſgovern, as heaven's lieutenants, till *Alexander* the Great, who, in the beginning of his reign, was indeed a king of the maſculine gender, came with all the violence of war, as heaven's lieutenant alſo, to dethrone and put an end to them: for he that was ſtrongeſt always happened to have the divine

authority on his ſide, contrary, and yet agreeable, to the orthodox ſyſtem.

Victrix cauſa Diis placuit.

Alexander himſelf ſoon degenerated, and, before he arrived to the flower of his age, grew an old woman, like the reſt; became wonderfully addicted to ſcolding, and doated on nothing but fine gowns, and citron water.

His immediate ſucceſſors reſembled him; they were at firſt men, and at laſt drivelers; and, for thoſe kings who ſucceeded *them*, they were old wives from their cradles.

There never was, in all the Eaſt, a braver race of men than the *Amazons*, whoſe Queens were alſo the braveſt of Kings. *Tamerlane* too happened to be a prince of a male genius: but, excepting as before excepted, there has ſcarce ever been known ſuch a character as a king in all the great continent of *Aſia*, though abounding in monarchs. Their frequent exerciſing of craft and cruelty does in no degree determine them men; the ſame being alſo exerciſed, though in a ſmaller meaſure, by crocodiles, wolves, kites, adders, and the like emblems and patterns of ſuch imperial old women as play the devil by divine right.

But

But theſe royal vermin, who ſucked the blood of their ſubjects, and were the relentleſs foes of mankind, became all, in their turn, the booty and vaſſals of the *Romans*, who knocked them on the head, or impriſoned them, or ſuffered them to enjoy a precarious and ſlaviſh ſovereignty, juſt as they had behaved themſelves.

The *Romans* were a nation of men, and friends to their ſpecies, lovers of liberty, and deſpiſers of life, when theſe two bleſſings were incompatible. They propagated politeneſs and laws; and hunted down tyrants and barbarity, wherever they came. They taught mankind to diſtinguiſh between manly obedience, proceeding from rational conſent, which is the allegiance *of ſubjects*; and involuntary ſubmiſſion, extorted by fears and force, which is the lot and condition of ſlaves.

Their religion was of a piece with their politics, and part of them. The civil magiſtrate was either the prieſt himſelf, or the prieſt was *prompted* by him; and the only piece of prieſtcraft which the *old republican clergy* practiſed, was to lye laudably, by the direction of the magiſtrate, for the good of the commonwealth. The hands of the government were not tied up from encouraging public ſpi-

rit, by the paultry fear of alarming the eccleſiaſtics. Every principle and every action, which promoted their preſent liberty and proſperity was lawful, virtuous, and religious, in the eyes of that noble people; who had no idea of the encroachment of liberty upon religion, or of the church's claſhing with the ſtate, or of the *creature*'s contending for ſuperiority with its *creator*. Theſe were monſters yet unborn, and abſurdities as yet uninvented, which lived not till liberty was dead, and till *old women* ſucceeded *heroes*.

The *Romans* preſerved their liberty ſo long as they preſerved their virtue. At laſt ambition and bribery ſeized the ſenate-houſe, and were followed by every evil art, and every wicked purpoſe: the corruption began at the great, who ſpread it among the people, and debauched them, in order to enſlave them. Shews, farces, and maſquerades, made them idle, and depending upon thoſe who gratified them with theſe fine ſights and diverſions. At long-run, their higheſt ambition was to live and ſee *ſhews*. In the end, being fully purged of all ſenſe of virtue and freedom, the whole *Roman* people, who had conquered the world, and had poliſhed it, they, who had depoſed tyrants,

tyrants, and ſet mankind free, became themſelves an eaſy prey to a traytor of their own raiſing.

Men have been, and are, generally taught from their early youth to admire and reverence the firſt *Cæſar:* at which I am aſtoniſhed; for he was one of the moſt wicked and bloody men that ever the earth bore. He ſtuck at no villany, no vileneſs, no deſtruction, to gain his ends, and ruin his country. *Omnium feminarum maritus, & omnium virorum uxor*, is the leaſt worſt character that can be given of him. If he was ſometimes guilty of mercy, it was from no tenderneſs of heart, or for any righteous purpoſe; but purely to catch gudgeons, and make his tyranny popular. In ſhort, *Julius Cæſar*, like moſt other conquerors, is intitled, in an humbler degree, to that ſort of glory, which is due to *Belzebub*, for daring the almighty, and defaceing the creation.

Thoſe, who ſucceeded him in the uſurpation of *Rome*, were for the moſt part ſuch an execrable race of vermin, that there is ſcarce any other character to be given of them, than that *Emperor* and *old woman* were terms ſynonymous ever afterwards.

The empreſs *Claudius* deſerves particular notice. She left the empire to the adminiſtration of whatever perſon happened to be moſt in her good graces, for the time being: and ſo ſometimes her wife was queen, and ſometimes her footman; while the good woman *Claudius* herſelf turned author, and ſcribled, and gormandized, and got drunk, every day of her life. *Nec temere unquam triclinio abſceſſit niſi diſtentus & madens*, ſays *Suetonius*. Juſt like the learned and valiant monarch of another country, I mean Queen *James* the *firſt* of *Magnagaſcar*; who, bating her averſion to tobacco, was as true an *old woman* as ever driveled, or tippled geneva. Queen *James* was alſo a royal benefactor to *Grub-ſtreet*, and preſident of the learned ſociety there. She writ books, and made ſpeeches, and was greatly ſubject to the looſeneſs; which laſt I take to be the true reaſon why the learned Queen *James's* performances *ſmell* but little of the conjurer; ſeeing that it is obſerved by Mr. *Locke*, in his treatiſe of education, *that they, who are very looſe, have ſeldom ſtrong thoughts.*

Behold here, O curious reader, a full and true character of our preſent writers upon moſt ſubjects! even becauſe they write with empty bellies, or with pills in their bellies; and therefore our preachers and poets do con-

ſeſ

ſeſs in their productions, the ſlipperineſs of their guts. Lamentable caſe! that, amongſt all the legions of the learned, there is hardly to be found one ſhrewd *coſtive* fellow, except myſelf, and my admirers!

This malady of the guts is alſo productive of pernicious effects amongſt ſtateſmen and crowned heads. Her late majeſty took phyſic that very day upon which ſhe ſigned the treaty at *Utrecht*; and it was obſerved that, all the while it was making, her miniſtry went frequently to the little houſe. And indeed it is well known, that, during the laſt three years of her reign, Dr. *Arbuthnot* was conſtantly about her, either by himſelf, or *proxy*; that is to ſay, either the phyſician, or the gliſter-pipe, was in daily practice. The late Duke of *Ormond* was taken with a ſtrange griping of the guts, when he was in *Flanders*, which laſted all the time he ſtayed there, and was the untoward reaſon why he deſerted the allies. But, notwithſtanding this, it is thought his late Grace would never have run away from *England*, had not a right reverend ſon of the mitre, for his own righteous ends, perſuaded him that he looked pale, and begged him in all love to take a purge; he followed the *ghoſtly advice*; and behold its operation!

the

the very next day he ſtarted from his cloſe-ſtool, mounted his horſe, and galloped away, as faſt as if *Jack Ketch* had been at his heels, and never halted till he came to the *pretender*, who is himſelf a poor *laxative* knight as ever wore a garter, and has a court moſt miſerably afflicted with the *bloody flux*.

There is a conſiderable king in *Europe*, who has been troubled with agues, looſeneſſes, and evil counſellors for two or three years: at laſt he was prevailed upon to take *aſtringents*, and turn off the *Cardinal*; and now all is like to go well with him again.

As to ourſelves; God be praiſed, we are bleſſed with a ſet of able, *coſtive* ſtateſmen, who have not gone to ſtool theſe three years, except as hereafter is excepted; that is to ſay, when they preferred —— and —— and —— and —— and ——, *cum multis aliis*; as alſo when they entered into a —— with —— and —— *&c.* as likewiſe when they declared that they had no intention to repeal ———; as alſo when they neglected to —— and —— and —— and —— and —— and —— and ——; as likewiſe when they contrived how to ſilence ———; as alſo when they quarrelled with —— and —— and ——; as like-

likewiſe when they formed a ſcheme to gain ſuch a vaſt ———; as alſo when they agreed to give —— and ——; as likewiſe when they were entering into a coalition and concert with —— and —— and ——: As alſo when they encouraged —— and —— and —— and ———.

Were I to go over all the *items* and *exceptions*, I ſhould never have done; and ſo I turn my foot into my firſt path, and proceed with my *diſſertation* upon *old women*.

To Queen *James* ſucceeded another queen; I mean he who was nick-named the *confeſſor*, like king, like counſellors! this ſucking monarch got him a wife, and yet went ſtill in leading-ſtrings: Mother *William Laud*, and madam the *Duke of Buckingham*, who had been his father's miſtreſs, were his governors, *unlimited* and *uncontroulable*.

The kingdom grew aſhamed and weary of being governed and oppreſſed by ſuch a *grizzel*, and ſo pulled her out of her *elbow-chair*, and never ſuffered her to ſet her breech in it afterwards; though ſhe tried all means whatſoever, ſometimes ſcolding, ſometimes beſeeching, ſometimes tricking, and ſometimes hiring bullies to fight for her.

Af-

After a long civil contention for liberty and dominion, which I paſs over in ſilence, becauſe it was between *men* and *men*, who do not belong to this my ſubject; come we, in the next place, to the riotous reign of Queen *Sardanapalus* the IId, who neglected God and men to drink *French* wine, and play with *French* harlots and lap dogs. There began then to be a great decay of ſobriety, virtue, and manhood; and nothing triumphed but the exciſe, fornication, and the church.

After a long reign of luxury and feminine weakneſſes, Queen *Sardanapalus* departed this life, by the pious aſſiſtance of the prieſts and her brother the Princeſs *James*; who mounted the throne, and ſhewed herſelf as errant an *old wife* as ever ſhook a ſcepter.

She, ever ſhe had well broken the coronation oath, which ſhe had not yet taken, taking into her ſerious conſideration the obvious infirmities of her ſex and her underſtanding, put herſelf, the firſt thing ſhe did, under the guardianſhip and abſolute direction of an old harlot at *Rome*, famous for her ſtinking breath, and her treble night-cap. Then her majeſty went on, like a creature ſuperannuated, as ſhe was, to play ſtrange pranks,

ſome

ſome ludicrous, and ſome miſchievous. She worſhipped wafers, pretended to devour her mediator, and claimed a right to eat up her people. No body would take her bond for a groat; and ſhe herſelf owned that her oath was not worth a ruſh. As ſhe was an old woman herſelf, ſo ſhe acted by old women; and particularly, ſhe got a jury of old wives, in long coats and coifs, to pronounce a verdict, that *ſhe might lawfully and innocently do what miſchief and wickedneſs ſhe would:* and ſo ſaid the ſacred ſiſters of the ſurplice; alledging that every old gentlewoman, wearing a crown, had a divine charter from God to reſemble *ſatan* as much as ſhe pleaſed.

Queen *James*, encouraged by all theſe fine ſpeeches, let looſe his inclinations, and devilized with all his might. But, as he was driving furiouſly over the life and limb of every ſubject that ſtood in his way, without any reſiſtance, which was prohibited by the *convocation*, he unadviſedly galloped over a *neſt* of the *wayward ſiſters* aforeſaid, and took away the articles of their *club*. This hurt and provoked them damnably. For, though they are the moſt patient creatures upon earth, when evil befals others; and will upon that occaſion urge the ſanctity of ſubmiſſion, with wonderful zeal; yet

yet ſuch is their mortal antipathy to ſufferings in their own perſons, that, upon any trial of that kind, they ſeem to be the only people upon the globe, to whom God has given leaſt of the grace of reſignation,

Queen *James* now found that this was their true ſpirit. For, though they had themſelves pointed out to him the very high road to oppreſſion, yet no ſooner had he given them a royal gripe, but they ſet up their apoſtolic throats, and yelled ſo loud, that they were heard all over the kingdom, and rouzed the multitude, from all quarters to their aſſiſtance; that very multitude, whom they had, a few days before, been infatuating into the diſpoſition and acquieſcence of ſlaves, they had now the art and the impudence to animate into rebels, in their own ſenſe of the word.

The manly part of the nation, and lovers of liberty, took advantage of the phrenzy of the prince, and the animoſity of the *wayward ſiſters*, to frighten Queen *James* into a nunnery, and to ſet a *king* upon the throne; the only one they had ſeen there, ſince the days of King *Beſs*, of manly memory.

The *wayward ſiſters*, finding that they had now in reality got a king *over* them, and not a queen *under* them; which laſt had been their lot and felicity for near a hundred years;

years; and perceiving withal that the king would not kneel to them, or put his power and ſcepter into their hands; they grew deviliſh outrageous and turbulent. The firſt thing they did, in their anger, was to vote themſelves forſworn; for, ſlap-daſh, they ſtripped the king, at one pull, of his *divine right*, and made a preſent of it to the excluded Queen *James*, from whom they had alſo rent it in their wrath, a month or two before.

But, in ſpite of their craft, and diſloyalty, the king kept his crown; and, in ſpite of his mercy and merit, they preſerved their averſion and malignity.

A *queen* came next; and, with her, proſperity and a *kingly government*, for ſeveral years; which once more diſappointed and provoked the *wayward ſiſters*, who yelped as bitterly as ever; but yelped unheard, till her majeſty grew old and into a reſemblance of her anceſtors; and then all things went topſy-turvey, and the *wayward ſiſters* flouriſhed and rejoiced. But juſt as they were in *full cry*, and daily expectation of their *hereditary old woman* from *abroad*, the other at home dropped, before they could bring it to paſs; and the kingdom got a *king* a ſecond time, and ſtill keeps him, notwith-

withſtanding all the ſtruggles, and ſedition, and praying, and counter-praying, and preaching, and drinking, and lying, and ſwearing, and forſwearing of the *wayward ſiſters*, in order to ſend him home again.

It is indeed agreeable to the ambition and ſelf-love of the *wayward ſiſters* to hate *kings*; for a monarch that reſolves to be a *man*, will never put himſelf under the dominion of *old women*, nor gratify their ſpleen: whereas when a queen reigns, the *wayward ſiſters* are all *kings*. Behold the reaſon of their preſent rage! the preſent monarch does not touch their roaſt, nor their boiled; their ſack, nor their ſherry; their copyholds, nor their *peter-pence*. On the contrary, he gives them all good uſage and encouragement; he prefers the worthy, and is not ſevere to the worthleſs. But all this pleaſes not the *wayward ſiſters*. They cannot impoſe upon their prince, nor piſs upon the laws, nor oppreſs the people, nor prey upon ſcrupulous conſciences, nor be forſworn with ſucceſs. Theſe are their great grievances; or, if they have greater, I wiſh they would produce them. If his majeſty would but pleaſe to condeſcend to their modeſt demands, and be led, like their pupil, or driven like their property; he

he might make beggars or bacon of his ſubjects, and welcome: nay, divine authority would be believed, and ſcripture miſquoted, to ſupport him in it. But, as he behaves himſelf at preſent, he will never be the favourite of the *wayward ſiſters*.

I have thus, with great labour of body and brain, ſearched into the records of time, and given my attentive reader an edifying abſtract of univerſal hiſtory, of which I have ſhewn *old women* to have been the principal *heroes*. If we look now into the diſputes and tranſactions between nation and nation, we ſhall aſſuredly find that they ever prevailed, or miſcarried, according as they employed *men* or *old women* in the management of their affairs civil and military.

And, not to go too far backward in this diſquiſition, let us only remember with what a different ſpirit and ſucceſs the affairs of *France* were conducted by that court forty years ago, from what the affairs of another court were, which ſhall be nameleſs: and the reaſon lay here; the *French* miniſters wore beards, and the *Britiſh* miniſters wore petticoats; choice guardians of the nation! who, whilſt they were ſupported in their avarice and merry-makings, from St. *Germains*, cared not what became

of

of their country, or of *Europe*, or of chriſtianity.

In the matters of peace and war, the caſe is juſt the ſame. In the laſt war, for example, againſt *France*, a *male general* was employed, and under him a race of *men*; and they hewed down all oppoſition: neither ſtone-walls, nor intrenchments, nor numbers, nor the danger of the church, could ſtand before them; nor could rivers or louis-d'ores retard their bravery. They ſtormed towns, they routed armies, they eat fire, and did every thing with a *maſculine* air: alas! what were a hundred thouſand *French* girls, whether nuns or ſoldiers, in their hands? and, for half a ſcore *mareſchals* of *France*, they conſidered them as only ſo many dancing *ola women* on horſeback, with feathers in their caps, and diſtaffs in their hands, who never miſſed being kicked head over heels, and ſent to *Paris* to get their wigs new powdered; which yet did not mend the matter.

It is thought, if the war had continued, that *Madam de Maintenon* would have headed the army in *Flanders*, and recruited it with ſeveral antiquated belles, and the nymphs of St. *Cyr*: this filled all the *heroes* at *Verſailles* with burning envy, and they all brigued againſt her going: but it is thought that all their politics would have failed

failed them, had they not luckily repreſented to the *grand monarch*, who was every day growing *leſs*, the *invincible Louis*, who was every day *beaten*, the *immortal man*, who was dangerouſly *ill* of a fiſtula; that, if he made his old nurſe a general, he would have no body to attend his *iſſue behind*. This made great impreſſion upon him; and ſo *Goody Villars* was appointed commander in chief, inſtead of *Goody Scarron*. As ſoon as ſhe came into the field, ſhe gave out ſcolding ſpeeches how ſhe would do ſeveral womanly exploits. But ſhe was well paid for her prating, and forced to run to ſave her life.

This was the unequal ſtrife, during the courſe of the war, between ſwords and diſtaffs. But, when things began to look towards an accommodation, the tables were quite turned. *France*, which hitherto had ſent old wives for warriors, appointed NOW *vigorous men* for her negotiators: and another kingdom, which, to its deathleſs glory, had employed HEROES to fight, did, to its endleſs infamy, employ old women to treat; wretched, toothleſs, impotent old women, who, had their luck been of a ſize with their brains, muſt have borne the pariſh badge! the lively and ingenious *John of Lapland*, and the able and accompliſhed *Thomas Lord Spellwell*, are

are a brace of hopeful ſtateſmen! and yet, with all their zeal and humble compliances, they had not the common capacity to ſell the honour of their country, even after others had brought it to market for them, without the aſſiſtance of prompters.

To come now, towards the end, to ſpeak of my own country, of which I have not hitherto ſaid one word; I am ſorry to ſay, that the increaſe of *old women* grows marvellouſly great amongſt us. It is moreover grievous to conſider, by what heavy and contemptible inſtruments this ſhameful change is wrought. lo! our evil cometh from the dull heart of the city, and we are enchanted by a *ſtupid kennel of ſtock-jobbers*, who cheat us out of our money and our *ſex*, and then ſtand godfathers to us, and, by way of tender deriſion, chriſten us BUBBLES!

Let us, my brethren and countrymen, either *properly* and *patiently* put on *petticoats*; or reſume our *manhood*, and ſhake off this ſhameful deluſion, this filthy yoke, put upon our necks by dull rogues from JONATHAN's; plodding dunces! who carry their ſouls, if they have any, in their pockets; and who, if you take them out of the *alley*, have not the underſtanding

ing of carmen, nor the agreeableneſs of baboons.

I ſhall conclude this light paper with ſome thoughts of a grave nature, and dwell, for two or three pages, upon a ſubject which gives me infinite delight; I mean, the preſent concord between St. *James's* and *Leiceſter-fields*.

AN

ESSAY

Upon the late UNION of the

WHIG-CHIEFS.

THE' reconciliation of our two courts is of ſuch happy conſequence to the nation, and the royal family, as muſt be highly pleaſing to all men, who love either. Differences of this kind are nothing rare; but they generally have public ill conſequences, and weaken the hands, and embarraſs the wheels of government. I thank God, the late one has produced more coldneſs than violence, and more talk than terror. It is to be preſumed, that nothing was done on either ſide during the breach, which may occaſion painful pangs, or angry reflexions, now it is cured. I doubt not but the union is as ſincere, as I wiſh it laſting.

Though

Though I always looked upon the late miſunderſtanding as a great evil; yet, now it is paſt, I do not know whether ſome good may not come of it. It will have ſhewn the *whigs* that they are much miſtaken, if, upon every fit of ſpleen or diſguſt, they think to meet a reſource among the *tories*, who are not uſed to give any quarter, much leſs ſhelter, to men who will but part with a piece of their principle. He who goes over to them, muſt not go halting. If they have a mind to go to *Rome*, or the *pretender*; it is not enough that you do not oppoſe them, or even that you wiſh them a good journey: if you do not go along with them, and accompany them to the very laſt ſtage, you do nothing. A vote and a ſpeech now and then will not ſerve them; they muſt have all your votes, and all your ſpeeches, otherwiſe you will never be loved nor truſted.

It will alſo have taught the *tories*, that the *whigs*, however divided, are ſtill too many for them, and can ſubſiſt without ſneaking compliances, or dangerous coalitions with *them*. There have been but few inſtances, of late, where they have been ſuffered to exert that ſpirit of oppreſſion, which is inſeparable from them; and fewer, I hope, of their being offered ſeats near the helm. The principle of a *whig*, and that of a *jacobite*, are ſo oppoſite and heterogeneous, that there can be no other mixture or comprehenſion

between them, but that of the one's devouring the other. Every other project for reconciling them is madneſs or knavery, and there is not at preſent the leaſt poſſible pretence for it; which I take to be none of the leaſt bleſſings attending the preſent agreement.

The *whig* intereſt is again united, and, for aught I know, the more ſtrongly for having been diſunited. It is therefore a happy and an unexceptionable ſeaſon for doing all thoſe neceſſary public-ſpirited things, which are wanting for the eſtabliſhment of *whiggiſm*, but which were prevented by the late rupture. I hope it will now be enquired, whether our univerſities are not the very ſinks of ſedition, and of every wicked principle; and whether, enjoying, as they do, at the nation's coſt, eaſe and abundance, they do not pay the nation, in return, with diſaffected, ſlaviſh doctrines, and poiſoned youth. Let the univerſities remain but unpurged, and the *jacobites* may ſneer in our face at every other ſcheme of ours for our ſecurity.

Princes are always reſpected abroad, in proportion to their ſtrength at home. It is not to be doubted but this our domeſtic unanimity will raiſe our foreign credit ſtill higher, and make the peace with *Spain*, which ſeems to

to linger, go on with greater alacrity and eaſe; and it is reaſonably hoped, that hereafter we ſhall be more upon the ſquare with our good allies, both in the adminiſtrations of war, and in the negotiations of peace, than our circumſtances have hitherto ſuffered us to be.

I therefore congratulate my countrymen upon the preſent happy pacification and unanimity. It will make us conſiderable to our friends, and formidable to our foes. It will enable us to avow, protect, and encourage every public principle; and leave us without excuſe, if we diſown or neglect it. It will render every oppoſition impotent, and every ſhift and procraſtination ſcandalous. It will ſerve to ſhew, whether our paſt omiſſions and trimmings were founded upon real weakneſs, or ſleeveleſs pretences; and whether we wanted power or inclinations to bid defiance to craft and corruption. Here are public grievances, and here is a call and an opportunity to redreſs them. Here are enemies in our boſom, and here is a fit occaſion and capacity to quell and diſarm them —— If we are in earneſt, the ſucceſs is ſure. In this caſe to ſucceed well is only to mean well; and nothing but ſelfiſh perſonal regards can obſtruct the public good, which therefore, we hope, will not be obſtructed at all.

We may preſume, that no man, who calls himſelf a *whig*, will make delay or difficulty, to

come roundly into every ſcheme which will bring advantage to his country, and honour to himſelf; we may particularly expect that no man, who bears that character, will oppoſe or poſtpone the ſcouring of thoſe neſts of pedants, who fill the kingdom with locuſts and diſloyalty; who, by their execrable poſitions and example, have diſſolved all the ties of conſcience, and common honeſty; who have ſanctified the helliſh ſin of perjury, and tacked fame and reputation to ſedition and rebellion. They have been heaving at our conſtitution, railing at liberty, civil and religious, and poiſoning the nation time out of mind: ſo that I cannot ſee how we can any longer neglect putting a ſtop to this popular contagion, without giving up the firſt law of nature, that of ſelf-preſervation and ſelf-defence.

The proſpect I have of the cure of this great evil gives me joy, as the continuance of it has often given me ſadneſs; and I amuſe myſelf with the certain expectation of a new and agreeable ſcene. What I have ſaid may probably appear warm language; but it is entirely the effect of public ſpirit, and of my own private judgment. God knows, I have no perſonal animoſity towards theſe men, who, as to their

their morals, deſerve pity; and, as to their genius and productions, are below contempt: and, as to their income and circumſtances, no body envies them their plenty and idleneſs; nor are we demanding a reformation of gluttony and lazineſs. All that we contend for is, the taking away of their ſtings; we will tolerate them to be drones, but cannot allow them to turn our world upſide down.

A MODEST

APOLOGY

FOR

Parſon *ALBERONI*,

GOVERNOR

TO

King PHILIP, *a Minor*;

AND

Univerſal Curate

Of the whole

Spaniſh MONARCHY:

THE

Whole being a ſhort, but unanſwerable Defence of *Prieſtcraft*, and a *New* Confutation of the Biſhop of *Bangor*.

Firſt printed in the YEAR 1719.

A P O L O G Y

FOR

Baron MURRAY,

GOVERNOR

TO

King PHILIP,

AND

Universal Curate

of the whole

Spring MONTAIGNE:

IN

Which being Given, the whole Discourse of Preaching and Christianity is Discussed.

By the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord

Bishop of Aleppo.

Third printed in this Year.

PREFACE.

As the characters and descriptions in this little treatise are intended for a picture of one set of men *only, who have distinguished themselves as much by their uncommon practices and positions, as I have done by this uncommon apology, I may reasonably hope that* none will rail at it, who are not hit by it. *Therefore, if any gentlemen please to take it ill that I have published* their pourtraitures, *I am ready to thank them: their anger will be my defence; and it will be sufficient for the justification of my copy, that* there are really such originals. *They have long sat for their picture, and the features are so*

ſtrong and obvious, that it was ſcarce poſſible to miſs them. If they appear frightful, now they are drawn, the fault is not in me.

How amiable is the character of a clergyman, when it is not ſtained by the wearer! and every good man will honour that miniſter who does not diſhonour himſelf. That there are ſtill many ſuch is my pleaſure; that there are not more, is my concern.

I added an explanation of this kind by way of poſtſcript to the ſecond edition, and have prefixed it as a preface to the third. It may be neceſſary to the wilful and the weak.

The gueſſes, which have been made about the author, give me occaſion to declare to the world, that my name never yet was in print.

IT is ſurprizing what ſublime conſequences are produced by the humbleſt inſtruments. One would think that braſs is a metal void of comelineſs and merit, either in colour or ſmell; and yet a ſuitable portion of it, placed conveniently upon the *forehead*, does frequently entitle *the bearer* to the higheſt ſtations in church and ſtate. It often makes a *bold figure* at the head of a regiment, and often *commands* attention at the council-table. In *Weſtminſter-Hall* it is loud, and *therefore* ſucceſsful; and, in parliament, popular and perſuaſive, *for the ſame reaſon*. And then again, if you take it in another capacity, it ſtill carries all before it. *Thomas a Becket* was archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as have been ſince ſeveral other good doctors of *equal* meekneſs and merit, whom my fear of giving *offence* keeps me from mentioning; and, at this very time, a certain *apoſtolical* gentleman *, who ſhall alſo be nameleſs, is *cardinal* of a great church † betwixt *Newgate* and *Tyburn*.

* Dr. *Sacheverel.* † St. *Andrew's, Holborn.*

O catholic

O catholic braſs, manifold are thy virtues I admire thy intereſt, though I never felt thy friendſhip; an obſtinate fellow, one *Modeſty* by name, never ſuffering me to make acquaintance with thee. Thou fortunate favourite of the court and the caſſock, many a fair lady haſt thou won, and many a fair poſt enjoyed! powerful alſo is thy force in argument: how invincibly haſt thou ſupported the divine right of kings and clergy, their *unbroken* ſucceſſion, and *unlimited* power, to the utter confuſion of *common* ſenſe, and the *Biſhop of Bangor*.

But to proceed with the mighty events that ariſe from *contemptible* cauſes; every body has heard that the famous Sir *John Whittington*, at his firſt ſetting out in the world, had no greater cargo than a homely *tabby cat*, and ſhe too, like other *mortal* merchandize, ſubject to *tare* and *tret*. But ſhe proved a *mighty hunter*, and, by her teeth and reputation, promoted her *fellow traveller* to the *chief* poſt in the *chief* city. And thus, to draw a moral from the ſtory, *the deſtruction of rats became the generation of a knight and a lord mayor*.

I have heard, in foreign countries, of a fleſhy-headed *chamber-maid*, who, from *pinning her miſtreſs's rump*, got aſtride *three nations*, and rode them almoſt out of breath; for ſhe

was

was *corpulent*, and, for the moſt part, had *a ſpur in her head.*

Even the great *Virgil* became a courtier by being a farrier; and a *tapſter* * has been the elements of an *ambaſſador.*

Arts and ſciences themſelves have had their birth from trivial chance. Muſic, as ſweet a girl as ſhe is, had a dirty anvil for her mother, and a baſe-born hammer for her father, and was midwifed into the world by a ſooty blackſmith. And aſtrology derives its genealogy from cow-keeping, the *Chaldean* herdſmen having, while they looked after their flocks, *grown familiar with the ſtars.* Thus *Venus* had her water firſt watched by ruſtics, who, one would think, could have neither *ſufficient breeding nor capacity* for pimping —— but the *moſt elegant arts* were rude in their beginnings.

A *friar*, whilſt he was boiling up a balſam for a broken ſhin, ſtumbled upon the generation of gun-powder, which was therefore conceived in the *womb* of a gally-pot, made *pregnant* by a *prieſt.*

The great *Pope Sixtus* the fifth owed his triple crown to the keeping of pigs, and from a mean ſwine-herd mounted till he came to be chief of *another herd*, ſtill preſerving *an analogy between his firſt and laſt employment.*

The

* *Matthew Prior.*

The great *Tompion* had never made watches, had he not firſt made hob-nails.

All this *waſte* of learning, which, *in other hands*, might fill many books, may ſerve to introduce the manner and motive by which I came to be an author. Know then, *curious reader*, that a ſtationer in the city having, laſt week, *truſted me* with an *inkhorn* and the appurtenances, I began immediately to make uſe of it, and, upon a trial of my genius, I found I could make as good a figure in print as ſome other famous writers, whoſe merit is *beſt* known to *themſelves*.

My firſt attempt was upon the witty and voluminous Mr. *Miſt*, the journaliſt, becauſe I would begin with *ſomething ſignal* at my firſt ſetting out. I found his paper, after much ſearch in a blind ale-houſe, near *Hockly in the Hole*. Having met my rival for fame, inſtantly I *drew* my *pen*, and, by ſeveral *bold ſtrokes* upon *his margin*, diſcovered plainly that *ſenſe and modeſty* were not *his ſeconds*, for they both proved *mine*. But, for all this dreadful enmity between us, I will candidly own that the *Jews*, for whom he lately drew up an *inimitable* petition, have almoſt as good a title as himſelf to *one ſort of advancement in a chriſtian commonwealth*. My antagoniſt would certainly fill a particular *tall poſt*, which is empty *oftener than*

it

it ſhould be, with *becoming merit and juſtice*. But ſee, how theſe parſons run away with *preferments* from the laity! This very poſt is, I am told, conferred, *for the preſent*, upon a *genuine ſon of the church*, who has *conſcientiouſly deſerved* it.

Behold, *kind reader*, a *true and full account* of the *origination* of this admirable pamphlet, If heaven ſpare me my life and my inkhorn, it is likely I may ſwell into volumes, as divers and ſundry *uſeful writers* have done for no better reaſon.

Having thus ſucceeded beyond expectation in my firſt eſſay, I am emboldened thereby to an undertaking equal, if poſſible, to my laſt, and, from the defence of Mr. *Miſt*, I intend to paſs, perhaps naturally enough, to an apology for the reverend *parſon Alberoni*, who, by the high ſtation he enjoys, *of vice-roy over the king of* Spain, is become the mark of much unreaſonable envy. This taſk of mine will lead me to open and juſtify the grounds and commendable aims of the *flouriſhing trade of prieſt-craft*, for which I promiſe myſelf the pious thanks of the convocation, *the next time it ſits*.

I hope I ſhall need no excuſe for the ſharp things which my zeal for the *church* and the *cardinal* will tempt me to utter.

As

As to the trifling charge againſt *my client*, that he has *commanded his pupil*, to break through faith and treaties, and ſurprize his neighbours, though it be very true, there is *nothing at all in it*. I behold with ſhame the ignorance of mankind, as *to what paſſes daily amongſt us*. Do we not all know that oaths and obligations, when they are ſo ſaucy as to fetter the *catholic pleaſure or profit* of the clergy, are ever broken through by *the whole body*, with great *fortitude and unanimity?* Nor is there any malignity in this *convenient* piece of wickedneſs; for the moſt damnable ſin ceaſes to be ſo, *as ſoon as the prieſt has unchriſtened it*, and ſucked out its venom with a *Salvo:* when he has done this, as a godly caſuiſt finely obſerves, *Licet ante peccaverint; jam non peccant:* that is, *the moſt groſs ſinners are now innocent, being undamned by the prieſt.*

This ought to be meant of the laity; for as to the clergy, who are the *avowed porters of heaven*, and *comptrollers* of its power and keys, and treaſurers of its wrath and mercies, I cannot conceive they ſhould be at any time in an unſanctified ſtate, *let them do what they will.* To us indeed, who being laymen, and only the *beaſts of the people*, ſee no further than the externals of things, a parſon may appear *a very*

ſad

ſad fellow, and tainted with that which, *in one of another cloth*, might ſeem great lewdneſs. But alas! they have an *indelible character* which conſecrates all their actions, and is the *ſpiritual ſalt that keeps the corruptions of the clergy from ſtinking.*

It may perhaps be not unbecoming my preſent deſign, to enquire a little in what nook or quarter of the prieſt this *indelible character*, conveyed by ordination, lurks; and I think it is evident it cannot lodge in the caſſock or habit, ſince the ſame has been often worn by *lay-girls*, who, being only companions to the *holy prieſt in their labours and exerciſes*, could not pretend to take orders, or be ever *inſtituted and inducted.*

Nor can this *eſſential and unalterable ſpot* reſide in the carcaſs of the prieſt. For when a Levite has been *maliciouſly toſſed off a beam*, and expired *for want of footing*, or died a *natural death of debauchery*, or in any other manner *worthy of himſelf*, it has never been known that the ſaid carcaſs *forgave ſins*, or executed any *other branch* of the *eccleſiaſtical office.* For it is remarkable, that *when a parſon is dead*, he lies as quiet and peaceable as *another body*, which is a confutation of a point generally believed, namely, that a prieſt *is never a good neighbour.*

I would

I would not have it alledged that the above-named *ſtain of prieſthood* ſticks, like bird-lime, to the ſoul of the Doctor, when the ſame has given his body the ſlip, or that he keeps *his orders, when he has loſt his organs.* Profane wits will make a jeſt of a *ghoſt in orders*, and, *looking upwards*, be ſurprized to find a *prieſt in a place where no one would expect him.* But let ſuch a ſcoffer be anſwerable for his own mirth, I am ſure I have a *very good meaning.*

However, though this *indelible character* muſt for ever remain a *profound myſtery to me, who am but an uncircumciſed lay-man*, and though I am in *duty bound to know what I cannot underſtand*; I have ſtill ſomething further to ſay in defence of my favourite *cardinal*, his leaping over oaths, which, as I have already proved, *cannot* tie down a *church-man.*

Archbiſhop *Laud*, beſides his taking and tendering oaths with an *&c.* which *ſome weak fanatical miniſters* would not ſwallow, and were therefore, like ſilly fellows, unworthy *of their cloth and order*, undone, becauſe they would not be forſworn; I ſay, beſides this eſſay of his perjury for the good of himſelf and the church, *he and the king* obliged the clergy of *Scotland* to ſwear to a *canonical conformity* to a liturgy

liturgy, a year before it was made. And I have read of a monarch, a *glorious churchman*, for whom, *once a year*, many godly revilings and falſhoods are uttered, and many handkerchiefs wet, who, beſides *many* other inſtances of his ſincerity and devotion, ſwore to the eſpouſals of one lady, while he was engaged by *heart and hand* to another whom he afterwards married.

What I would from hence infer in favour of my client, is, that, if a popiſh prince and a popiſh prieſt have as good a right to be forſworn as an *Engliſh catholic prince*, *and an Engliſh catholic prieſt*, the cardinal and his pupil ſtand juſtified.

You muſt own, reader, a monopoly of perjury is not public-ſpirited — I do not indeed envy any of our own clergy *their full ſhare*, who may have been *trading that way*; but to engroſs the *whole commodity* would be *unfair trafficking*.

But to go on with my apology——— *Kings are accountable to none but God, and the prieſts to none but themſelves.* As this principle is exactly agreeable to the pretenſions and practices of the *church* in all ages, I would be glad to ſee that daring infidel, who calls it in queſtion. The *lay-world* may make oaths, and take them, but, ſo long as their force depends upon the

the pleaſure and explications of the clergy, they will be but of ſmall ſervice to mankind. I will vouch for the prieſts, that they always ſcorned to be barred by the trifling regards of conſcience and ſwearing, from the *more catholic purſuits of their pleaſure and power*; and hiſtory, both ancient and modern, will vouch for *me*. I will give inſtances.

When the prince is hard-hearted enough to humour the church-men, by oppreſſing and plundering the laity, and politic enough to divide the ſpoils with *them*, then it is damnation to reſiſt him, becauſe he has a divine right to be miſchievous to all men but themſelves: But if his majeſty is ſo ill adviſed, as to provoke their rage by his benevolence to mankind; or, if by a ſchiſmatical adherence to truth and liberty, he fruſtrate their hopes of making him a *good church-man*, the church grows preſently in imminent danger from virtue and moderation, who are *notorious diſſenters from orthodoxy*; then it is little better than damnation not to reſiſt him, *and woes are denounced againſt the fearful heart, and the weak hand*.

As to his preſent majeſty, there are thoſe of the clergy, who have *forſworn* to be true and faithful to him, over and over, and yet do not ſo much as pretend they mean any ſuch matter.

ter. They ſay they muſt ſwear or ſtarve, which is a confeſſion that they would rather be damned than faſt. What a tribe of ſimpletons were the martyrs in all ages! their *heterodox notions* made them erroneouſly prefer their ſouls to their bellies, and even to their lives — And yet they had a ſtronger plea for conforming to idolatry and perjury, as death and tortures are ſomewhat more frightful than bare deprivation ——— But now-a-days, by *univerſal conſent*, tithes bear a higher price than conſcience *in any market in* England.

In *Edward* the ſixth's time, the clergy, to ſhew themſelves true conformiſts, forſook their harlots and the maſs, and were, to appearance, reconciled to *one woman* and the new teſtament. In queen *Mary*'s reign they abandoned the goſpel and their wives, and re-became *orthodox catholics*, and, to prove it, grew godly burners of all that had either a conſcience or a bible. Upon queen *Elizabeth*'s acceſſion to the throne, they once more, like *conformable friends to themſelves*, forſwore and complied, and afterwards plotted and rebelled. But her reign proved long and glorious. And indeed ſome, who have not that reverence for the gown, which they ought to have, are of opinion, that it is a certain ſymptom of happy

times,

times, when the prieſts run mad and cabal; for, ſay they, while the people are ſuffered to enjoy their own, the clergy can have no plunder; whereas, in a general oppreſſion, the prince and prieſts generally divide ſtakes——They add, that wolves and ravens never fare *beſt* but where there are moſt carcaſſes. But theſe things ought not to be ſpoken; and,

I wonder how any man in his ſenſes dare ſay ſuch diſreſpectful things of the *officers of God Almighty's revenue*, who alſo are a board of commiſſioners for managing his power, or rather their own power, by *his miniſtration*.

In the buſineſs of excommunication, for inſtance, do we not ſee their Maker is *made* little better than their executioner? He is *obliged* not only to ratify their ſentence, but to deliver the perſon excommunicate into the ſafe cuſtody of Satan, their gaoler in *comitatu Hell*. The priſoner, the while, not finding himſelf a bit reſtrained by his *crediting* landlord, *the devil*, goes to the court, and for a little money is abſolved, be his crime what it will, and this ſentence alſo *muſt* be ratified in heaven, and the former unratified; and the great God, as if he were the conſtable of the court, *muſt* take the *priſoner* out of a goal where he never was, and from the cuſtody of a gaoler whom

whom he never ſaw, and re-inſtate him in a church which perhaps he never owned. Thus is the creator of all things, and the giver of all good, made the inſtrument of their anger and avarice, and a property to bring them reverence and money.

Theſe things are not at all aggravated here, and yet the bare mention of them may ſeem to expoſe them; but I mean no more by it than to ſhew the *wonderful and inconceivable power of the prieſthood*, who are as *implicitly obeyed in heaven, as they ought to be on earth*, and have the upper and infernal world as much in their gift, as he has, who is the Maker of both; nay, much more; for, as a reverend Doctor of *our church* has it, *he has given them his commiſſion to diſpoſe of them, and he cannot contradict himſelf.* They will not allow the King of Kings the *common prerogative* of pardoning a *poor felon*, once in a ſeſſions, without *their* conſent, and then he *muſt not* be puniſhed. How great and awful muſt theſe men be who are thus *abſolute over the abſolute*, and *Kings of the King of Kings!* This may perhaps ſeem to repreſent them as no friends to monarchy, but this cannot be imagined, ſince they themſelves are the monarchs of God and men.

After all this omnipotence which I have proved to be in the clergy, where is the need

of believing in any *other* God, or of living as if there was one? No, no, if you would be *abſolved and ſaved, believe in the prieſt, and live in the fear of the caſſock.* What can be more handy than our having a forgiver and a Saviour in every pariſh, beſides *deputy-pardoners*, and *Journeymen-Saviours?*

There is indeed an antient treatiſe named *ſcripture*, which, *if we give any credit to it*, would be apt to ſtagger this our faith in the clergy. It was of great repute at the reformation by a few Doctors, who, not knowing their own power, baſely ſacrificed the intereſt of the ſurplice to that of chriſtianity. But their ſucceſſors, wiſer than theſe old fellows, and better *church-men*, finding that the ſaid book was pragmatical, and would be oppoſing the policy and proceedings of their ſociety, tranſlated all the reverence, which was formerly paid to that venerable old book, to a book of canons, compoſed on purpoſe, as a *rival* to bring the other under diſgrace, inſomuch that it is now for the moſt part condemned to the mean office of teaching children to read. A certain *modern biſhop* * has indeed done his *malicious part* to reſtore it to *its priſtine* regard and dignity, but, as he is *zealouſly* oppoſed by all the *truly orthodox*, it is hoped *by many* he will not ſucceed.

Com-

* Dr. *Hoadly*, then biſhop of *Bangor*, late of *Wincheſter*.

Commend me to the *German* monk whom I have ſeen mentioned ſomewhere, I think, by Monſieur *Le Clerc*. This *genuine prieſt*, faithful to the intereſt of his order, told his penitents in the godlineſs of his zeal, *That there was a certain book, writ in* Greek, *called the new teſtament, which was full of hereſies; and another certain book writ in* Hebrew, *called the old teſtament, which, if they believed it, would make them all* Jews.

I would recommend the example of this monk to our *own monks*, but they have ſaved me the trouble.

There is an outcry in the mouths of too many of the laity againſt the clergy, which I think is very unreaſonable; they accuſe them of an implacable enmity to knowledge and illumination; which is very true, and yet very juſt. How often muſt theſe perverſe men be told, That *learning and eyes* in the laity are the greateſt cauſes of the contempt of the clergy? Why ſhould we be inquiring into points which ought only to be believed thoroughly, but never underſtood nor conceived? It ought to ſuffice us to know that the prieſts know all things. This might at firſt have prevented diſſenters, and ought now to reclaim them. If we did but humbly and lazily fol-

low our guides, it would ſave us much trouble, and yet put them to *none*.

Beſides, this charge is too general; for they are always willing we ſhould read and underſtand *thoſe few texts* that ſpeak civilly of the prieſthood, and wiſh, no doubt, there were more of them. Nay, now and then they are ſo courteous as to ſplit a verſe in the bible with us, and, keeping one half to themſelves, give us generouſly the other. For example. *Be wiſe as ſerpents, and innocent as doves*, is a text they ſeem very ready to divide with us, The harmleſſneſs of the pigeon is at our ſervice, but we muſt not pretend to rob them of the *ſerpent*.

The cunningeſt ſerpent that ever was, I mean the devil in *Milton*, compaſſed the earth by night, and could not endure the *enlightened ſide* of the globe.

The ſpace of ſeven continued nights he rode
In darkneſs.—

How agreeable the policy of the *arch-fiend* is to the *other gentlemen in black*, I need not explain —— Without doubt, the *wiſdom and good parts*, even of the devil, are imitable. Who can blame them for hiding deformities and cloven feet? Should knowledge and the

ſcrip-

ſcriptures be let looſe againſt the clergy, what dreadful havoc would they make! Theſe *mercileſs informers* would make their reputation to be only *daub* and *varniſh*; and their wealth, only *booty and plunder*: For what would not two ſuch *bold libertines* ſwear? Can we blame men for warding againſt their mortal foes?

For the ſafety therefore of the parſons, in their fortunes and characters, I will conſult my *intimate friends*, *the two houſes*, about ſtopping the mouth of the bible, and the biſhop of *Bangor*. This I hope, my *friends* will comply with, for I know they love to *do popular things*, and will be proud to pleaſe the *convocation*.

I have been long thinking of a project to reconcile religion and the church to each other. They were *originally intimate friends*, but at preſent they live at *mortal odds*.

I would not ſay one word, upon any conſideration, to perſuade the clergy to give chriſtianity the upper hand of their intereſt, for I love them too well to affront them: neither would I have them affright themſelves with my *reconciling deſign* abovementioned, for I have given it over as *utterly impracticable*: But, as I am their friend and apologiſt, I beg leave to recommend to them the removal of a few

unpopular qualities and practices, of which they are fond. And

First, I would adviſe them to conceal that *unprofitable* propenſity which is in them, to burn or ſtrangle diſſenters. Perſecution is certainly a laudable calling, *when any thing is to be got by it*; and, in ſuch a caſe, I am not for robbing the clergy of *their dues*, but at preſent there is neither gain nor credit in it: and therefore, I beſeech them, as they love themſelves, which is the ſtrongeſt motive my invention can dictate, to baniſh this *pennyleſs-Spirit*: the malignity of the time has deprived them of the power of doing *catholic miſchief and murder for the welfare of the church.*

In order to perſuade them effectually to cloſe with this my advice, I pray the clergy not to judge of other men's conſciences by their own. It would be really whimſical, in a few men, *who are void of hearing*, to ſet up for *adjuſting or reſtraining the laws of harmony*: The pleaſure of procreation is Greek *and* Hebrew *to an eunuch*; and indeed *to a creature that is gelt, liberty of cod-piece muſt have a very odd ſound.*

Another point, which ſeems wrong in them, is their ſtiling themſelves the *ambaſſadors of a great Potentate*, who, I am afraid, *will not own*

own them. We all know *their inſtructions, as myſtical as they would* keep them, and I fear me, were they examined by them, like many *other ſtateſmen*, they would be found *too great to be good.* Should the late Earl of *Mar*, who hath given ſome ſhrewd ſuſpicions of his being for the Pretender, take it in his head to call himſelf *King* George's *ambaſſador*, would not his practices, *in ſome ſmall meaſure*, bring in queſtion his profeſſions? The application is eaſy; it is only ſuppoſing the devil a pretender to the kingdom of heaven.

There is, in a certain dioceſe of this nation, a living worth about ſix hundred pounds a year. This, and two or three more preferments, maintain *the doctor* in *becoming eaſe* and *corpulency.* He keeps a chariot in town, and a journeyman in the country; and his curate and his coach-horſes are his *equal drudges*, ſaving that the *four-legged cattle* are better fed, and have *ſleeker caſſocks* than his *ſpiritual dray-horſe.* The doctor goes down once a year to *ſheer his flock*, and fill his pockets, or, in other words, to receive *the wages of his ambaſſy*; and then, ſometimes in an afternoon, if his belly do not happen to be too full, he vouchſafes to mount the pulpit, and to inſtruct his people in the greatneſs of his character and

his dulneſs. This compoſes the whole pariſh to *reſt*; but, the doctor one day denouncing himſelf the *Lord's ambaſſador* with greater fire and loudneſs than could have been reaſonably expected from *him*, it rouzed a clown of the congregation, who waked his next neighbour, with——*Do'ſt hear*, Tom, *do'ſt hear?* Ay, ſays *Tom*, yawning, what does he ſay? *Say*, anſwered the other, *he ſays a plaguy lye to be ſure*; *he ſays as how he is the Lord's Humbaſſandor*; but I do think he is more rather *the Lord's Receiver-General*, for he never comes but to take money.

Six hundred pounds a year is, *modeſtly ſpeaking*, a competent fee for lulling the largeſt congregation in *England* aſleep once in a twelvemonth.——— Such tithes are the *price of napping*, and ſuch mighty odds there are between a *curtain lecture* and a *cuſhion-lecture*.

The next piece of counſel I would give *my friends in black*, is, that when they are caught in a ſmall crime, or ſo, they would not always be throwing the blame upon a couple of civil perſons and good neighbours, called *fleſh and blood*; it is not ſatisfactory. A bear, when he is hungry, may eat up a good chriſtian, and give as *ſtrong* a reaſon for it.—

No,

No, let them ſin as they preach, and ſcorn to tell us *why or wherefore.*

Their ambition, of being ſuch *near kinſmen* to the *apoſtles*, has likewiſe done them a diſkindneſs. A prieſt may be a boon companion, and an *admirable church-man*, and yet not be a bit like his *couſin St.* Paul. It is therefore for the honour of the clergy, that I would have them drop their alliance with the ſaints: people will be making *ſhameful compariſons*, in which the gown, I doubt, will ſuffer; for know all men, *by theſe preſents*, that railing at the government, and undermining it, and the contempt of temperance and oaths, with other modes that are now orthodox, were not *apoſtolical virtues* in *former days:* and whereas humility, meekneſs, patience, brotherly love and charity, are, at this day, every mother's ſon of them, *diſſenters and ſchiſmatics*, the ſame were in ſome ſmall repute many hundred years ago. But what is that to our *preſent apoſtles?*

I often amuſe myſelf with conſidering the greatneſs and multiplicity of the characters belonging to the *orthodox* clergy. The meaneſt reader of them is a kinſman to the apoſtles, and our ſaviour's lieutenant, and door-keeper of heaven and hell, and the

creator of Chriſtians, and the forgiver of ſins, and a trumpeter, and a watchman, and a journeyman, and — (I am out of breath) an ambaſſador.

But, as great men as they are, it is hard, methinks, that an honeſt lay-man, when he dies, cannot ſtep *up ſtairs*, without a ticket from an ambaſſador, who is perhaps a-bed, or out of humour, or taking his bottle or *his girl*, and the like.

My friends, the ambaſſadors have another cuſtom too, which ſavours not ſo much of the *ſerpent as it ought to do*. A man cannot grow eminent for his knowledge and writings, but forthwith the ambaſſadors grow fearful of him, and cry *atheiſt* at him. This I would pray them to forbear. I own I have my own ends in giving them this wholeſome admonition; for, to tell it to my *dear friend, the world*, as a ſecret, which I deſire may go no further, I begin myſelf to be *more* than apprehenſive of the charge of *atheiſm*, againſt me.

The church-men have, moreover, found it for their intereſt, time out of mind, that moſt of their foes ſhould drink a bumper to *Belzebub* next their heart every morning: Now, I declare I am not at all acquainted with the devil, and I deſire the ambaſſadors, if he

ſhould

ſhould tell them the contrary, not to credit him; for, whatever they may think of it, he is a ſad lying fellow.

Mr. *Locke*, I grant, gave them ſufficient cauſe to abuſe him, by his *ſpeaking well of human underſtanding*, and *explaining the ſcriptures*. But, for myſelf, I vow and proteſt, *upon the word of an author*, I never yet did the clergy the *leaſt ill office*, by teaching mankind either reaſon or religion: I confeſs, I love them both well enough to merit the *character of an infidel*, but I keep my affection to piety and truth, to myſelf, for fear of provoking the *ambaſſadors*; *they being engaged in another intereſt*.

I, who am their apologiſt, muſt own, it is not without reaſon they look aſquint upon humanity, and uſeful knowledge, and moderation, and the like *lay-virtues*. A man that *wants legs*, would certainly think himſelf inſulted and reproached, ſhould a pragmatical fellow take it in his head to *be dancing and cutting capers before him*. Folks that *have no teeth*, *do not love cruſt*.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe friendly conceſſions of mine in favour of the *ambaſſadors*, I muſt ſtill pray them, for the future, to keep *their atheiſm* to themſelves, though *they may have a*

great deal of it to ſpare. For, while there are a *few* left, who make bold to believe there is *another God beſides the clergy*, an adherence to ſcripture and common ſenſe will not fail to be approved by *many*, and would be by *more*, were it thought conſiſtent with the *dignity and deſigns* of the ambaſſadors, to *permit* the common people to return to their ſenſes.

But this, alas! is not to be expected, ſo long as judgment and underſtanding are ſo apparently oppoſite *to the rights of the church.*

The *Roman* clergy are juſtified in keeping the laity in ſubjection and ignorance, by a bold pretence to infallibility: whereas our prieſts, equally bold, but leſs reaſonable, would make us ſlaves and blockheads, and yet *cannot give us a reaſon for it.* It is confeſſed they have a certain hard word, one *orthodox*, which is their friend at a pinch, and ſerves them on all occaſions, for a ready anſwer to every objection. But this ſame orthodox, though it *fully convinces many good church-men*, yet *hath loſt its original meaning*, and, for many ages, ſignified either every thing, or nothing. Indeed, when the church hath her hands *unbound*, *orthodox* is a word of high importance, and conſtantly ſignifies the pillory and whipping-poſt, and the church

church that hath theſe *reforming engines* of its ſide, is, *of courſe*, the *moſt apoſtolical.*

This *orthodox* has likewiſe been *compelled to mean* ſeveral *other meanings*, upon ſeveral occaſions. Sometimes it is an altar, and ſometimes a book of canons; ſometimes a convocation, and ſometimes a mob; it is this minute a biſhop *in his throne*, and the next a tithe-pig. Now and then it is ſlavery and unlimited loyalty, and preſently it is ſedition and rebellion, *without reſerve.* It is a tyrant when a maſter, and an incendiary when a ſervant, and either plotting miſchief, or acting it. When it is a doctor, it argues by ſtrong hand, and, as ill as it likes the bible, it would keep it all to itſelf. When it is in adverſity, it ſnatches up the firſt remedy that comes to its hand, lawful or unlawful · but to others in the ſame circumſtances it recommends *prayers and tears*, eſpecially when they are to no purpoſe: if you give it all it aſks, it will perhaps *ſeem* contented; but if you ſhew its hated foe, *moderation*, the leaſt countenance, it will ſpit in your face, and call you ſon of a whore: for, whatever diſguiſe it appears in, it is very apt to be in a paſſion, and call names; nay, if its hands are not tied, it will bite and ſcratch, and kick, and fling, and bounce and bellow, and knock down all

all that come near it, unleſs they ſwear a bloody oath, *they are for the church.*

But, as uſeful as this *orthodox* is to the clergy, it will never juſtify them, in the opinion of impartial judges, for marking the beſt and moſt elevated ſpirits with the brand of atheiſm; virtue, learning, and humanity, will find friends in ſpite of orthodoxy, and many of the laity will live in the fear of God, let the clergy take it ever ſo ill; and others will be lovers of truth and mankind, at the hazard of being hated by the church.

I muſt now have ſome talk with my friends, the ambaſſadors, upon another point, and that is their claim of divine right to every thing which they have a mind to call *theirs.*

It is certain the monks acquired moſt of their poſſeſſions by ſuch means and arts as would have been ſcandalous and diabolical, had they been practiſed by *lay-men.* But *clerks only* have the ſacred privilege of tricking and playing the devil for the proſperity of the church. Now theſe poſſeſſions of the monks, though forfeited to the crown by the law, for having been fraudulently got, and unjuſtly kept, to maintain lazineſs and debauchery, are to this hour claimed by our *preſent monks*, as the undoubted ſucceſſors of the *other* bald vermin, *in purity of doctrine*

doctrine and of manners. Thus aiming in every point to reſemble theſe their pious predeceſſors, they would willingly hold their lands by *roguery and divine right.*

The antient monks were much more generous and reaſonable than the *preſent ſet*; for they gave their bubbles an *equivalent* for their wealth —They would at any time jockey away a ſmall tenement in *Abraham*'s boſom, for a rich manor in *England*; whereas our *modern monks*, notwithſtanding their avowed authority over their maker, and his dominions *above*, are ſo far from *dealing* like chapmen, that, in exchange for our poſſeſſions, they do not ſo much as offer us a little *bargain* in paradiſe. If the *propriety of that ground be theirs*, they might at leaſt tender a *future* cottage for a *preſent* palace, and the rather, becauſe by experience we know, that, when we are at their mercy, they allow us, *in this life*, little elſe but dungeons, whips and chains, and the *like inducements* to reverence the prieſthood, who, for the *good of our ſouls*, uſe our bodies *bloody ill.* And it cannot be denied, when the *ambaſſadors* are let looſe, they act as if they were, in truth, *the ſcourges of God, by divine right.*

Now, I, their apologiſt, do earneſtly perſuade the ambaſſadors to drop this claim. All the

the laics who read the bible know there is nothing of it in that book, and they do not ſee that the clergy live in ſo good an underſtanding and *conformity* with their maker, as to merit from him a grant of all the lands in *England* by *word of mouth.*

What they have by *human right* let them keep, and make much of it; nay (to pleaſe them) let them wrangle and go to law about it as much and as often as they will — But this is a hint they do not want. A parſon's bull and his grey pad feed on tithe-hay and corn, which is the provender of theſe brutes by *Divine right*, and yet I never obſerved they grew fatter upon this *divine* food than a *lay-bull and a lay-ſtone horſe*, or were leſs addicted to carnality and lewdneſs.

I ſhall ſay nothing here of the *divine right* which doubtleſs the ambaſſadors have to *pluralities and non-reſidence:* Only by the by, ſuppoſe the earl of *Stair* ſhould deſire his majeſty to make him ambaſſador to half a dozen courts beſide that of *France*, and undertake to execute all theſe employments by his *footmen*, I fancy his excellency would be roundly told, That diſcharging an ambaſſy by *a curate* is ſuch a Solœciſm in politics as a *lay-miniſter* muſt not be guilty of.

I now proceed to another *catholic* topic, which is run into *prodigious* luxuriancy and irregularity; I mean the good *art of lying* for the church. I do not intend to debar the *ambaſſadors* from their moſt righteous and moſt antient practice of martyring their conſcience to their caſſock, and venturing their precious ſouls againſt the dangerous and fanatical incroachments of their old foe, *truth*, which was never a friend to the *trade* of the tippit. It is to be wiſhed, however, that their laudable zeal for this venerable *uſage* were a *little* limited; and therefore that it may not grow uſeleſs by being altogether boundleſs, *as it is at this Day*, I, *the apologiſt* for the church, prompted by pure affection, will make bold to lay down *two Rules* to be obſerved by the *ambaſſadors*, *who are lyars for the good of it*, as well as Sir *H. Wooton* was for the good of the ſtate. *

And firſt, I implore them, as they love their *precious livings*, not to *fib* out of the bible. I know it is the hardeſt thing in the world to break men of *a long and ſtrong* habit, particularly when they *much* delight in it; but I pray them to conſider that the bible is the moſt aukward creature under the ſun at fathering a lye. You may eaſily know when *he* is quoted for a falſehood, for, if you aſk him, he will deal uprightly

* Sir *Henry Wooton* defined an ambaſſador, A man that *lyed for the good of his country.*

rightly with you, and tell you the naked truth. It was a malicious thing of our anceſtors, and a great blow upon the *ambaſſadors*, to teach *this foreigner* our Language; for, ever ſince he has been *naturalized* and taught *Engliſh*, he blabs out every thing he knows.

Good doctors, take warning from the *wretched* fate of a *brother doctor*,* who, in a furious fit of zeal to deſtroy his country, and *ſave* the church, took a paſſage or two out of the bible, that were not in it. Upon this ſome *unleavened lay-men*, who had a ſingular affection for the ſcripture, but were bitter enemies to the church, went and conſulted their *old friend* the bible, who told them frankly, and like a neighbour, that this *ſaviour* of the church had *belyed him*; and, after ſpending ſome moments in admirations of the doctor's *Want of memory*, added, That *the doctor and he had never been, in the leaſt, acquainted in all their lives.*

A *ſore ſtroke* this upon our *ambaſſador*, but it did not reſt here. Theſe hard-hearted laymen, preferring the reputation of an *obſolete treatiſe* to that of a *modiſh ambaſſador*, hung up the ſtory at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and then publiſhed it to all the world. Which dreadful uſage did ſo provoke the *meek ambaſſador*, that, from

* Dr. *Sacheverel.*

from that hour to this, he could never endure law, or goſpel, or truth, or good manners; but, being now both diſtracted and hardened to a degree, he ſwears and rails, and lyes more or leſs every day in the week, *but moſt terribly on Sundays.*

Behold the damage which accrues to the church from the aptneſs of the bible to tell tales!

This boldneſs in us *lay-animals*, or, as a *great church-man* † loves to call us, *The beaſts of the people*, to *meddle* with knowledge, and ſtudy the *word of God*, is undoubtedly a ſhameful inſult upon the *ambaſſadors*, and a manifeſt impropriation of their *rights* and *profits*. But there is no help for it, the laity will, *againſt all reaſon*, be exerciſing their *reaſon*, and judging in things which, though *plain* and *neceſſary*, ought to remain a *profound myſtery*. All this is the more intolerable, for that both the prophets and apoſtles give a very harſh and unkind character of our *preſent orthodox clergy*. It is well for theſe *calumniators* and *low-church-men*, that they are dead.

Having now ſhewed the *ambaſſadors* that it is by no means ſafe, even when the church is in the greateſt danger, to lye for its preſervation out of the *holy ſcriptures*, which are ever *backward* to *own* and vindicate the *cauſe* of the *caſſock*

† Mr. Leſley.

caſſock; I proceed to give them a rule to lye by, when they fetch their falſhoods out of their own heads—And it is only this, *to lye with probability*. How many a glorious *catholic forgery* has been murthered by making it too *catholic*, that is, *too monſtrous?* What pity it is there ſhould be any exceſs in piety and *good works!*

In the time of the late rebellion I dined, by accident, at a gentleman's houſe in the *weſt*, who made no ſecret of his being a Jacobite, or, as he explained it, *a true churchman*. The *parſon*, I found, was gone to the next village to cater for news, and, being impatiently expected by the Eſquire, arrived juſt as we were ſitting down to dinner. *Well*, doctor, ſays his worſhip, *What is the word? MAR, MAR, Sir*, replied the doctor, *What ſhould it be?* Here all the family chuckled, perceiving the *good man* had got a packet that pleaſed him. However, before he broached his *beſt news*, he let us know that king *George* (to whom he gave *another name*) had got a guard about him, conſiſting of *five thouſand* Turks, *and ten thouſand preſbyterian parſons*. Theſe *ill tidings* made madam ſigh for the church, and therefore the doctor haſtened to tell her *better*. *Come*, madam, ſays he, *hold up*,

day

day dawns in the north, the brave Mar *has two hundred thouſand* Highlanders *well armed and principled, to ſerve your ladyſhip and the church; and three hundred and fourſcore great* French *ſhips of* war *were this morning ſeen making towards* Portſmouth. The lady thanked God with an ejaculation, and *his ambaſſador* with a glaſs of ſherry. He then proceeded to aſſure us, *That the Duke of* Argyle's *army had deſerted to a man, and that his Grace himſelf was fled in a poor fiſhing-boat to* Greenland, or ſomewhere, *far away; that his majeſty had ſtole away from St.* James's, *and was not to be found high nor low; and that the duke of* Marlborough *bit his thumbs, and looked as pale as aſhes.* This great news procured the *ambaſſador* the other glaſs of ſherry, and madam clapped the other cuſtard upon his plate. He then aſſured us, of his own knowledge, that the *duke of* Berwick *had, on ſome occaſion or other, given the earl of* Stair *a terrible box on the ear, and ordered him to leave the kingdom in three hours, on pain of being put in the ſtocks. A brave man this duke of* Berwick, ſays a booby at the parſon's elbow, the 'ſquire's eldeſt ſon. *Ay,* ſays the parſon, and,

Here is to Berwick *the bold,*
And may his Grace live to grow old.

He

He went on in this wantonneſs of fancy, and lyed and rhimed beyond all bounds. The 'ſquire ſqueezed him by the hand, and put his health round, and I ſaw nothing but mirth and gaiety. For myſelf, I laughed with the reſt, and owned the *ambaſſador*'s news to be *wonderful ſtrange*. He was afterwards very arch upon a brace of *Turks*, and a garden of turnips that he planted in his majeſty's bed-chamber. But as he was going on with his news and calumny, and *juſt ſhipping off the royal family*, for whom he had provided a lodging ſomewhere in *Holland*, an honeſt gentleman came in with the printed account of both the *battle* of *Preſton*, and that of *Dumblain*; for, living far from a poſt-town, he had his letters but once a week. The *ambaſſador* was inſtantly taken with an occaſion to make water, and left both his news and his cuſtard unfiniſhed. But I told the gentleman the wonders the doctor had told *us*, and he ſhewed us the monſtrous impoſſibility of them; which had ſo good an effect, that though he continues his trade to this day, and lyes as *fervently* as ever, eſpecially from his *wooden ſanctuary*, yet the perverſe people *uncharitably* refuſe to be any longer his rogues and zealots; whereas, before this his unhappy detection, he could ſet them a

railing,

railing, and ſwearing, and mobbing, at his *chriſtian pleaſure*. It is true, *many of the good women* are ſtill his believers and *conformiſts*; but this is aſcribed to a *cauſe not quite ſo ſpiritual*.

Take warning, O *reverend ambaſſadors*, from the forlorn miſcarriage of this your *blundering brother*, who, tranſported with *orthodox zeal*, carried a *well-meaning lye* beyond the bounds of likelihood, and has *thereby* utterly diſabled himſelf from ſerving the *church* and his *order*, as long as he lives—Better, oh better he had been a bed that inauſpicious day, though with *his handmaid*, as uſual.

Not ſo the artful and eloquent *father Francis*,* who holds forth a lye, and weeps over a lye, with a praiſe-worthy cunning and dexterity. He dreſſes up the pretty puppit ſo amiably, all at the coſt and charges of his *own fancy*, and laments over it ſo movingly, that there is not a dry eye, nor a dry handkerchief, in the whole congregation. The tears and rage of his hearers are equally in his power; the whole order would, no doubt, envy him, were he not, though greatly lewd, *an excellent churchman*.

He was once raiſing the pity of his hearers, for a *hopeful*, *unfortunate* young gentleman, who, though born to *three great eſtates*, was ſo ill

* Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

ill uſed, and *perſecuted*, that he had not a hovel to put his *catholic head* in. In ſhort, he deſcribed the poor lad's circumſtances ſo artfully, and lamented him ſo pathetically, that I thruſt my hand into my pocket, and, had *the Pretender* been within three pews of me, I ſhould infallibly have reached him half a crown; a larger charity than I give to *every poor body*. I perceived the ſame ſympathy and commiſeration in the looks of the whole church.

On every 30th of *January*, how many *butchers* does he ſend home, calling for their *cleavers*, to hew in pieces all the *Preſbyterian dæmons*, that had a hand in the *ſlaughter* of the *martyr!* For it is a ſtanding maxim and *reſolve* amongſt *the ambaſſadors*, that all the diſſenters, who ever lived, or ſhall live, to the end of the world, *muſt be the very individual men that murthered King* Charles *the Firſt with their own hands*. Another time he gave us a frightful image and deſcription of *Oliver Cromwell's time*; but he threw ſo many *modern incidents* into the character, that the whole congregation *miſtook* him to mean the *preſent reign*, and I, like a booby, amongſt the reſt, was of the ſame opinion; and he put me ſo out of humour with the court and the miniſtry, that I ſnatched up my hat and cane, and went directly to *expoſtulate* with a *ſecretary of ſtate*,

upon

upon the *dreadful doings* and *miſmanagements* which *friar* Francis had pointed at; I likewiſe intended to admoniſh the *courtiers to be ruled by the clergy, if they expected to proſper.* But, when I came to St. *James's*, I found that things had quite *another face there*, than when they came out of the mouth of *friar* Francis. So I kept my buſineſs to myſelf, and ſneaked off, warned however to truſt no more to the repreſentations of this *reverend father in guile.*

But, I hope, for the ſake of *the ambaſſadors*, no body elſe will take the ſame pains to be untaught the *apoſtolical forgeries*, which *their excellencies* may find it *convenient* to broach from time to time — Such a raſh proceeding would utterly deſtroy the credit of the caſſock throughout this land. But my *honourable friends* know themſelves very ſafe in the *conformable credulity* of their hearers: and yet I muſt ſtill praiſe that wary *doctor moſt*, who lyes *beſt*, that is, like *friar* Francis, *moſt artfully.* He well knows, that *the pious art of falſhood* is the *only engine* they have left to defend the reputation of the *crape*, and to wound that of their great *rival for power*, the GOVERNMENT. He therefore manages with care and art this *laſt ſhift.*

I have already given a *reaſon ſufficient*, why oaths ought not to hamſtring the *ambaſſadors*,

to which I will here add, in defence of the *innocent ſin of perjury*, that if *their* univerſal cuſtom and practice in all ages be of any force, as ſometimes cuſtom alone creates law, then here is an apology in a few words, for ſuch *genuine clergymen* as have *forſworn* to his preſent majeſty for the preſervation of their cupboards and *tithes*, *of which the holy church hath made them overſeers*. It is not, therefore, without *valuable conſiderations*, that the *conſcientious prieſts* have reconciled themſelves to this *innocent ſin*, and made perjury the *eaſieſt taſk* under the ſun. Not but that the *conformable*, good creatures can abſtain from it (as much as they are uſed to it) when there is *more got* by NON-JURING.

I knew the *ambaſſador of a pariſh* near the *Bath*, who had for many years ſworn and prayed with *conſtant conformity*, and enjoyed his *living* and his *October*, without the leaſt tumult in his conſcience, till the beginning of the *late rebellion*; but this ſame conſcience of his (being ſomething of a *time-ſerver*) no ſooner heard that the *Highlanders* were riſen, but *it* began to riſe too, and gave the *doctor* ſeveral hints, which he thought were *juſt* and *reaſonable*. In ſhort, *it* drew up a remonſtrance to him, by which it appeared, that if he did but handle the preſent opportunity *well*,

he

he might bid fair to get ſomething, without loſing any thing. The *doctor* was ready to follow the advice of ſo *rational* a conſcience, and ſo *pretended* to quit his pariſh, becauſe as he told his people in a doleful diſcourſe at *parting*, he could not, *with any conſcience, pray for a prince who had no right*, and ſo forth. Thus the *doctor ſeemed* to riſk a ſmall living for the good of his *poor* ſoul, and a *deanry*: and *only ſeemed*, for, being as *cautious* as he was *conſcientious*, he had his church ſupplied with a *deputy-ambaſſador*, vulgarly called a *curate*. However, the *doctor* enjoyed the honour and character of a *confeſſor* for a few weeks, and then the defeats of *Mar* and *Forſter* gave him ſuch *convincing proofs of his majeſty's right*, that his courteous *conſcience*, the beſt-natured *yielding* thing alive, made him and perjury *cordial friends* once more. He took the oaths, and kept his pariſh, and prays now for the government *with the ſame ſincerity as ever.*

Before I have done, I muſt have a little chat with my friends, the *ambaſſadors*, upon the head of *politics*; and I cannot but conceive they are ſomewhat too fickle and changing in their *friendſhip and enmity to princes and ſtates*: and inconſtancy in ſchemes is an eſſential error in *ſtateſmen.*

The *ambaſſadors* were, for ſome time, exceeding fond of the late *French King*, who indeed took *prevailing methods* to pleaſe them. In the firſt place he exerted the *full prerogative of a monarch by divine right*, upon his *lay-ſubjects*, and treated them as *ſlaves born to breathe but for* his *pleaſure*. Secondly, he ſtrove glorioufly, by frauds and violence, to deſtroy the moſt powerful and moſt *obnoxious neſt of republicans* in the world, dull *Dutchmen*, that will be for *trade and liberty of conſcience*, let *our clergy ſay what they will to the contrary*. Thirdly, (O glorious article!) He *exerciſed ſuch wholſom ſeverities upon diſſenters*, that every *true churchman* ought to *worſhip* him to all eternity. And yet, after all this complicated merit, they withdrew *their protection* from him, as ſoon as he grew friends with *King William*. But he quickly merited their ſmiles; for he bravely broke his faith, and fell a murdering the damned *Dutch* again: and, during the whole courſe of the war, they continued to grieve for his loſſes, and to curſe the *Duke of* Marlborough for ſtopping the courſe of *his moſt chriſtian cruelties*. But ſtill they grumbled at his ſlowneſs in lending them a few *ſhips* and *troops* to do a certain *job* which they had *much at heart*, becauſe it would have changed

changed the *ill-contrived model* of our laws and religion into a form more *pleaſing to them.*

The *regent* was *honoured* with their *good graces*, while he was ſuſpected of aiding the *rebellion for the church*; but, now it appears he has no ſpite againſt their country and conſtitution, they have taken up a mortal *one* at him.

Sweden was once the only object of their affection and their prayers, whilſt its king was expected with a fleet and army to reſcue the *church*, by *fire and ſword, and popery*, from the danger of a *proteſtant government.* But *Sweden* failed them, and preſently

The *czar* of Muſcovy got into their favour, and it was ſtrongly hoped, that that *meek monarch* would ſet fire to the nation, and help the *church*; and though he baulked them, the *ambaſſadors* are ſtill fond of him, he having, by *his humanity to his ſon and ſeveral others*, ſhewn, that he *knows the uſe of wholſom ſeverities*; beſides, it is thought he has *no good-will for* England.

The *Turk* was at one time a *very popular churchman*, for he was at war with the chriſtians, and *therefore* ——— great things were expected from him by the *ambaſſadors*, for

the proſperity of the church: But Prince *Eugene* who is *not a good churchman*, drove *their Mahometan friend* back to his *whore-houſe* again ——

Even the *emperor* himſelf, when it was reported he had given his ſiſter to the *pretender*, was *honoured* with the *character of a well-wiſher to the church of* England; but, *that lye not proving true*, his *imperial majeſty* loſt ground amongſt the *ambaſſadors*, and is at preſent in ſuch diſgrace with them, that nothing but *his going to maſs*, makes them keep meaſures with him.

The *Dutch* were ever the objects of their indignation and utter averſion, but, at this preſent time, even *theſe republicans, and no-chriſtians*, by their *ſlowneſs in ſigning the quadruple alliance*, have won the hearts of *our ambaſſadors*, and *the Hogan Mogans* have *now* the good fortune to be deemed *judicious and moderate ſchiſmatics*; but I am in great dread, that they will *very ſhortly* anger the *church* again.

But *parſon Alberoni, my client*, is, *of all the potentates* in *Europe, the Pope himſelf not* excepted, their *preſent favourite and darling*, as I, though unworthy, expect ſoon to be, for penning

ning this *unanſwerable encomium* upon *him and them.*

Their love of this potent *High-Churchman*, who like another *Cardinal Laud*, leads his *pupil* by the noſe, and the purſe-ſtrings, can proceed from nothing but their fondneſs for *works of charity*, to which, it ſeems, my *client* ſhews a ſtrong inclination, particularly, *in* an *inſtance or two that cannot but pleaſe the church.*

We all know there are ſeveral worthy *Engliſh gentlemen, the good friends of our ambaſſadors* and *loyal ſufferers for the church*, who live like vagrants in *Italy*, and are *fed with crumbs from the Pope's table.* Now the *loving cardinal* has, in his *royal bounty*, invited theſe *pious proteſtants* into *his kingdom*, offering them a morſel, and a bed, though it is feared the preſent *parliament* hath taken ſuch *uncatholic reſolutions* as may put the *cardinal's majeſty* out of humour, and *tempt him to change his mind.*

Sir *George Byng* too is never to be forgiven by any man who wiſhes well to the *church* and *uniformity*, for creating ſuch a *dangerous ſchiſm* in the *cardinal's fleet*, who were too *orthodox catholics* to digeſt the *dreadful hereſy* of *proteſtant* powder and ball.

It was rude in Sir *George* to break the heads of ſo many *civil Spaniards*, who were men of *peaceable behaviour*, and *no wiſe addicted to fighting*. It is true they *afterwards* behaved themſelves like *heroes*, when they *refought* the *Engliſh* in the *Marquis de Beretti Landi*'s *paper*, where his Excellency has made them ſhew the true *Spaniſh bravery*, by beating Sir *George* bravely, and running away from him bloodily. And it is plain to all the world, that they ſhewed, by a *bold flight*, they ſcorned to die to pleaſe that *mercileſs heretic*.

I could add many particulars to illuſtrate the worth of my *eminent client*, *parſon* Alberoni, whoſe great capacity *to rule his maſter* is viſible to mankind. I could likewiſe inſiſt that he has as good a right as *any other prieſt or vicar* whatſoever, to *act as becomes his order*, by nouriſhing war and deſolation.

But I will wave the detail of theſe points, though there is a *great deal* in them, having a *grand thing* to urge in his behalf, which renders him ſingularly dear *to all true churchmen*. —Reader, *a word in your ear*; parſon *Alberoni* intends, if King *George* would but let him, to *reſtore* —— and *the church-lands*.

O Sanctum feſtumq; diem!

Having

Having left this *important* whiſper upon the reader's memory, I ſhall ſay no more.

N. B. Not one of the *numerous* anſwers, which will be made to this *apology*, will be worth reading. But, at the *earneſt* requeſt of my *book-ſeller*, I deſign to write and publiſh a *reply to myſelf*, which I deſire every body to buy.

AN

APOLOGY

FOR THE

Danger of the *Church.*

PROVING,

That the CHURCH is, and ought to be always in *Danger*; and that it would be *dangerous* for her to be out of *Danger.*

Being a Second Part of the APOLOGY for Parſon *ALBERONI.*

First Printed in the YEAR 1719.

THE proſpect of doing great and uſeful actions, or the conſideration of having done them, muſt needs be matter of pleaſure and triumph to a mind honeſtly ambitious. It is therefore no little joy to me to reflect, that I have been a perſon of notable moment and ſignificancy this winter; by my ſtrenuous defence of high-church, *and the trade thereof.* I have placed its true ſons and overſeers in a true light, in which every one may behold them, and *bow down with his face to the earth.*

As all pious deeds meet with ſome reward, either in the internal ſatisfaction of the mind, or from the monuments of praiſe erected by mankind to the *doer*, I have no reaſon to ſay that my late *apology* went without its recompence; ſince by it I have gained, what I ſincerely aimed at, to the *genuine prieſthood* all due honour, and to myſelf ———. But it becomes me, who am but *a private gentleman*, to ſerve my country *for nothing.*

There is, however, ſome good fortune generally attending the *brave man* who draws in defence

defence of the church. She is a lucky old body, and few find cauſe to repent of having done her a good turn. I myſelf, her weak though voluntary champion, am two pair of ſhoes and a beaver the richer, for wearing out three pens, and exhauſting a halfpenny-worth of ink in her ſervice. I ſtill want a ſword-knot and a tooth-pick-caſe, which I make no queſtion of earning in a few days from the *ſteeple*. I have for that purpoſe, at this very juncture, ſeventeen pamphlets in my head, all carved out into proper method and paragraphs, and ten of them are already ſold to my bookſeller, who purchaſes my brains at ſo much a ſheet. I would willingly ſell him the other ſeven, and throw two or three little ones into the bargain; but he ſhakes his ears, and ſeems to ſay, *He has ventured enough already.*

In this manner is my pregnant head become an office of wit and manuſcripts, to be employed wholly in the intereſt of the *ſacred brood of* Aaron.

Purſuant to this I have a project now on foot, which, if duly encouraged, will tend to the univerſal credit and emolument of this *diſtreſſed church*. In ſhort, it is my purpoſe to expoſe my head, and the furniture thereof, to ſale by auction, at St. *Paul*'s Chapter-houſe on the 33d of *May* next; at which time and place,

place, I do hereby humbly hope and beg the preſence and encouragement of all the reverend zealots within this realm. The particulars are as follows:

A CATALOGUE

Of unborn pamphlets, and ſatyrs, to be publiſhed as ſoon as they are brought forth, for the benefit of our *mother church*, and her hopeful boys, the parſons.

Imprimis, The nature and neceſſity of an eccleſiaſtical delirium, or the art of holy foaming. Written in the ſtile of the eloquent Dr. *Sacheverel.*

2. The holy monopoly; or a new conveyance of an old grant, ſigned and ſealed *above*; proving the clergy to be the natural lords of all the women and land in *Great Britain*, and the *rightful occupiers* of both, in ſpite of all lay—and rent-rolls whatſoever. ——— A valuable pamphlet.

3. The tribe of *Iſſachar*; or an argument to prove that the laity have a right to no liberty, but that of being ſlaves to the clergy. To which is added an appendix, proving that the parſons ought to govern the world.

4. The modern paradox; or a demonſtration that ungodlineſs may be orthodox, and a good life damnable. The whole being intend-

ed

ed for a defence of the Reverend Dr. *Sacheverel* and a reproof to Mr. *Whiſton*.

5. The truth of contradiction; or church-arithmetic, demonſtrating, *That three is one, and one is three.*

6. The unreaſonableneſs of underſtanding the ſcripture.

7. The abſolute neceſſity of underſtanding our duty to the clergy.

8. The innocence of perjury and rebellion, *on one ſide.*

9. A plain proof that laymen may lawfully commit ſin, if they will pay for it, and kneel for pardon to the clergy.

There are ſeveral more MSS. of the like nature and tendency, which may be ſeen at the place of ſale, with the price marked upon them.

I have already confeſſed, that my humble attempts to ſerve the church have not altogether miſſed their recompence; and if the late *bleſſed martyr*, Jemmy Shepherd, with ſome other *orthodox gentlemen*, who fought and were hanged for the church, did not fare ſo merrily, it was becauſe the clergy were not conſulted and obeyed, as queſtionleſs they ought to have been. But thus it will ever be, while the king and parliament are *ſuffered* to act *independently on the convocation*.

Since

Since therefore I have ſucceeded in my honeſt endeavours, to ſet up the parſons as the idols of the univerſe, I cannot, in gratitude to them and myſelf, forbear purſuing my blow, till I have ſatiated their holy leachery, and Mr. *Leſlie*'s prophecy, by perſuading mankind, *to fall down before them, with their faces to the earth, and lick up the duſt of their feet.* And, when I have once obliged the *lay Gibeonites* to be as *reſpectful and miſerable* as becomes them, the clergy and I will ſit down together, and ſacrifice to wine and tobacco.

In the mean while it ſhall be my preſent taſk to confound gainſayers, by proving, *That the church is, and ought to be in danger, and that it would be dangerous for her to be out of danger.*

But, before I proceed, I muſt, for my own ſecurity from cavillers, and for the greater clearneſs of my diſcourſe, ſettle the idea which I and all men ought to have of the *church*, by defining the word. *The church, then, is a ſable ſociety of gentlemen, wearing broad hats and deep garments; who poſſeſs great part of the wealth and power of the world, and would have all, as a reward for keeping mankind in decent ignorance and bondage.*

And now I enter upon my deſign, with great alacrity of heart.

I own the goſpel makes this ſtory of the church's danger a meer fable; but be it alſo known, that, though our ſaviour ſays the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it, *our parſons* will not take his word for it. I am ſorry with all my heart, for the great miſunderſtanding and difference which there are between Jeſus Chriſt and his ambaſſadors, almoſt in every point of belief and practice; and, I confeſs, it is very odd, that they, who pretend all their power to be from him, ſhould not credit his moſt ſolemn promiſes; but I ſee no remedy for theſe things.

I, that am a layman, find great comfort in being a Chriſtian and a believer; and particularly I am ſo much of a heretic, as to think, that, when our Saviour ſaid his Father was greater than he, he did not tell a word of a lye; I know his ambaſſadors are of another opinion; but I have faith in Chriſt Jeſus.

The danger of the church comes from divers cauſes, the principal of which I ſhall reckon up.

And firſt, common ſenſe and ſobriety are great enemies to the church. While folks are ſober and rational, they can ſee about them, and want that large competency of blindneſs which ſo eminently qualifies a man for a good churchman.

churchman. So long as they are deſtitute of that *title to orthodoxy*, they will be attending to the means of their own intereſt and ſafety, than which no greater rubs can be thrown in the prieſthood's way.

Not many years ago, when we were beating our enemies, and defending ourſelves and *Europe* from chains; when ſucceſs and reputation attended us abroad, and we flouriſhed in peace and ſecurity at home; an ignorant perſon would think we were a happy people, and indeed we were ſo: But what then? Our happineſs, virtue, and concord, were not only utterly inconſiſtent with the welfare of the church; but put it into terrible danger: And therefore all her true ſons bent their whole might and zeal to relieve her by diſtracting the nation; and their pious and fiery endeavours, at laſt, made the people mad, and the church ſafe. Its ſtrongeſt votaries, the ingenious vulgar, drank away their reaſon and humanity, and committed bloodſhed and blaſphemy, every-where, for the church, with vaſt zeal and ſucceſs; and the church gathered moſt ſtrength, when religion and reaſon had leaſt. As for thoſe fanatical ſober rogues, that kept their ſenſes, they were devoutly knocked down by thoſe who were ſo orthodox as to have none. At this *bleſſed*

juncture

juncture the clergy had the happineſs to ſee more blood and beer drawn for the church, than ever had been before on any occaſion whatever. And it is always an infallible ſign of the church's health and proſperity, when the buſineſs of exciſemen and ſurgeons increaſes beyond meaſure.

It will fall *naturally* under *this head*, to obſerve who are the church's beſt and ſtancheſt friends.

And in the firſt place, there are many noble lords, who are *born friends to the church*, and live and die in that friendſhip. There is the little *lord Apemore*, who has beſtowed his whole heart upon parſons and race-horſes. He knows nothing elſe, and happily for the church, cares for nothing elſe. He ſeems with St. *Francis* to be an implacable foe to all human knowledge and charity; but he can ſay the *Athanaſian* creed, drink damnation to the whigs, and is, upon the whole, a compleat churchman. *Lord Apemore* was once drinking a health to his horſe *Frederic*, and, among thoſe who heard it, it went round; but, when it came to the turn of a whig in company to drink, he, being thick of hearing, miſtook, and, throwing up his hat with loyal noiſe and affection, drank *Prince Frederic*. Upon which the peer, riſing from

from his ſeat, *Dam me, ſir, what d'ye mean Sir? Dam me, ſir, d'ye know where you are, Sir? Dam me, we know no Prince* Frederic *here, ſir; and Dam me, ſir, we are drinking a better man's health, ſir.* This excellent ſpeech has gained his Lordſhip the reputation of a wit, and a brave man, among all the parſons and 'ſquires round the country.

Corpulus is another Right Honourable Perſon, who has been a true church man *from his cradle.* To *a concuſſion in that machine* it is thought he is indebted for his *orthodox principles*, and his ſecurity from the dangerous influence of human reaſon. I could give ample proofs of this, but his lordſhip through the whole courſe of his life has done it to my hand. He makes a joke of the king's title, and of his own oath to maintain it; he is as honourably ignorant as becomes a great perſonage and a true church-man, and he never goes to bed without ſwallowing eight quarts, and as many thouſand oaths. Let the world judge if this man be not a cordial and approved friend to the hierarchy.

The *Lord Syntax* is paſt forty, and has all the rules of grammar by heart; but, notwithſtanding this great accompliſhment, *the cawl is not yet taken off his face*, and he is ſtill *a minor.*

But,

But, being a *babe* in common ſenſe, he is conſequently a reſolute high church-man.

Lord Gemini does likewiſe demand honourable mention on this occaſion. Nature was very negligent when ſhe made this great man, for he is an *unfiniſhed piece of brown earth*, and his mind (if he has one) tallies exactly to his outſide. He cannot ſhut his mouth, nor hold his tongue. However, half made as he is, he is full of bright zeal; and, when he is *in the houſe*, he ſeems to mean ſeveral ſpeeches for the church, but no mortal is ſo well bred as to hear him: And yet, his mouth, as I ſaid, being always ready open, he proceeds eternally.

I confeſs that *Earl Talman*, though he is a church man, wants two eſſential qualifications for that character: He has ſenſe, and he is never drunk. But, quoth *Cato*, who had not a due reſpect for *prieſthood and tyranny: Solus Cæſar ad evertendam rempublicam ſobrius advenit.* To be juſt to *Earl Talman*, I grant he was twice a whig *upon valuable conſiderations*, and once out of a pique. But at preſent he is a great church man, becauſe he has not a *proper* reaſon to be otherwiſe.

Lord Bowling-Green * is no fool neither, nay, he was a wit and a writer during the life of a

* *Sheffield*, Duke of *Buckingham*,

a great poet,* whoſe death had ſuch an effect upon him, that he has not writ a line ſince. But, though the peer has ſenſe, yet it happens ſo oddly, that he is a true church-man. But malicious people pretend to give you a reaſon for it, by alledging that he leans towards infidelity. If this be true, the thing is not at all ſtrange.

I was going on with my characters of this ſort, but I muſt remember that I have not now time to write *a folio*.

From what has been ſaid, I hope it is evident why moſt of our rural 'ſquires and purſuers of foxes are excellent high church-men. Theſe *married minors* are all under the dominion of their wives and the parſons, who regale one another with caudle and orthodoxy, *and ſo forth*, and govern theſe ſimple vehicles of worſhip and nonſenſe, and mould their hearts and *their heads* into what faith and *figure* they pleaſe. And it muſt be acknowledged, to the honour of theſe *genuine gentlemen*, that they have an admirable knack at *planting* orthodoxy *in all its branches*, wherever they come.

Andrew la Fool, Eſq; keeps ſpecial beer, and has a wife who loves the church and *all its tackle*. *Andrew* never dines without ſeven parſons at his elbow.

'*Squire*

* Mr. *Dryden*.

'*Squire Toby* lived in a married ſtate nine years without iſſue; he at length took a chaplain into his houſe, and now his wife is with child: *See*, ſays *Toby*, *the bleſſing that attends the keeping of a clergyman in one's houſe! And yet, but to pleaſe my wife, I had not done it.*

I am far from being ſurprized that our rural members vote on all occaſions for the church. Is not *filial duty* a potent reaſon? And is there no gratitude, nor affection, due to the good men who brought them probably into the world, and certainly into *the houſe?* For our country candidates have an agent, to be ſure, *if not a father*, in every pariſh in the county, who carries all the votes in the village *under his girdle.*

Nor are theſe ſons of the caſſock, laſt mentioned, any more rebellious in their capacity than in their inclinations. Their pious and convenient ignorance is a certain pledge for their zeal, and theſe two are perpetually of a ſize.

As to the behaviour and practice of theſe Levitical cubs, it is the eaſieſt taſk in the world: *Their whole buſineſs is to be drunk and orthodox.*

Having now ſhewn why ſo many lords and commons are true churchmen, I need ſay nothing of the rabble, ſince they are ſo for the ſame reaſon,

ſon, and therefore it is no wonder the church has ſuch a majority amongſt them. The church, if the mob forſake it, is undone.

Hence it is that for good and pious ends I have, as council for the clergy, drawn the following deed of conveyance, which, I do not doubt, will be readily ſigned and ſealed by the parties concerned. The purport of it is to enrich the church-intereſt with a multitude of perſons whom the whigs may well ſpare.

'Whereas there are divers and ſundry well-'meaning ignorant perſons in this land, who 'call themſelves *whigs*, and yet want the ne-'ceſſary marks and qualifications belonging 'to *that character*, which is maintained *by a* '*good underſtanding, and by a powerful love for* '*truth and liberty, and, in general, by a juſt* '*ſenſe of things:* And whereas the aforeſaid 'good and ſenſeleſs perſons do originally and '*naturally* belong to the claſs of *true church-men*, 'whoſe cauſe has from the beginning been ſup-'ported by *number and nonſenſe:* We there-'fore whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, 'taking into our tender conſideration the in-'tereſt of the clergy, do, as repreſentatives 'of the whole body of *whigs* in *Great Britain*, 'by theſe preſents, renounce, releaſe, and for 'ever quit our claim, to all boobies and

'idiots, who may have run blindly into our 'party: And we do hereby freely, and of our 'own meer motion, reſign and make over the 'ſaid fools and naturals unto the high church 'of *England*, whoſe proper goods and chat-'tles they are, the ſaid church knowing full 'well how to apply the blindneſs and ſtupi-'dity of them the ſaid aſſes to admirable and 'orthodox ends and purpoſes. Witneſs our 'hands, *&c.*

A. B. cum ſociis ſuis.'

I have but one ſcruple upon my conſcience in relation to this grant of mine in behalf of the church. I doubt it will obſtruct *the bill for preventing the growth of peerage*, if ever it ſhould come in again: And, on the contrary, make many new creations neceſſary to fill up the vacancies it will occaſion. But let our ſuperiors look to that. The church in the mean while ought to pray fervently for ſucceſs to ſuch a bill; for, if it paſs, I will be bold to propheſy, that fifty years hence the *whole houſe*, at leaſt a great majority, will *be genuine church-men*; unleſs the ſame be firſt rendered *intirely empty* by a rigorous execution of this my conveyance.

Another traiterous enemy to the church hath been the weather.

When

When that *remarkable phenomenon* appeared about three years ſince, every one that had *orthodox eyes* ſaw armies and champions in the air, brandiſhing their broad ſwords, and threatening preſent death and deſtruction to all fanatics and low church-men; yet ſo it ſhamefully happens, that that caravan of *tory-clouds* has neither brought over the pretender, nor ſtruck any *other* blow on the church's ſide.

The wind likewiſe played the truant from the church, and, in ſpite of the propheſies and prayers of all the parſons and *other* old women in the nation, Sir *George Byng*'s fleet was not ſunk. One would naturally take the ſea, by *its noiſe and roaring*, to be an orthodox perſon; but, by its late great civilities to our ſhips, it ſeems to have quite deſerted the church-intereſt, and tacked about to the whigs.

I happened to be down in *Eſſex* about the time when Sir *John Norris* was ſent into the *Baltic* to detain the moderate and pious king of *Sweden* from that expedition, from which our church expected *great ſalvation*, as the reverend Mr. *Trapp* zealouſly phraſed it, and on *Sunday* I went to church. Our parſon, after taking his text, and making a flouriſh or two about the meaning of it, told us, that, though the doom denounced againſt the ſhips of

Tarſhiſh and the *ISLES* was an old prophecy, it might probably, nay it did certainly extend much further, and we were encouraged to hope great effects from it, *in this our day. You ſhall ſee*, ſays he, *and I ſpeak it from the mouth of inſpiration itſelf, you ſhall ſuddenly ſee the wonders of the Lord in the deep. Can the Almighty proſper thoſe ſhips that are the bulwarks of uſurpation, commonwealths, and Schiſm? No, he cannot, he muſt not, if he be true to his own word, if he has any regard for his own church and people.* His whole ſermon was to the like purpoſe, and he ſeemed to have ſtrong and *Chriſtian hopes* that our navy would periſh. But notwithſtanding that he preached and foamed with *wonderful zeal*, and vented great eloquence and ſpittle; and notwithſtanding that he threatened the Lord, if he did not grant a tempeſt; and the people, if they did not pray for it; yet neither God nor the weather obeyed him, and Sir *John* and his ſquadron went in ſafety.

In ſhort, there has not been a blaſt of wind, or a ſhower of rain theſe five years, but what has been drawn, head over heels, into the party and intereſt of the church. It thundered for the church, and ſnowed for the church, and froze for the church. And yet the whigs, who have

have got all the money in the nation, have ſo bribed the elements, that they have quite forſook the catholic cauſe. We had laſt ſummer very hot weather, which, in the opinion of all the orthodox, boded nothing leſs to the nation, than a general famine and peſtilence, for the *martyrdom of the bleſſed martyr*, and the keeping out of the pretender. But theſe *peſtilential friends of* the church, though earneſtly wiſhed for, and poſitively foretold, have not done the church the leaſt ſervice, by laying waſte their native country. How often was the king's army to have been frozen up in *Scotland*, during the late rebellion? And moſt of the parſons in the kingdom had pawned their word and faith upon it. But, in the iſſue, neither the froſt nor the ſnow helped the church and the Pretender.

In laſt autumn word was brought to the parſon of a certain pariſh, that ſuch a boy in the village was juſt then killed with thunder and lightning. *Is he?* ſays the parſon, *It is what I always foretold, that that boy would come to a diſmal end, for he went conſtantly to a fanatic conventicle; and neither I nor his School-maſter could diſſuade him from it. Ay, but ſir*, replied the meſſenger, who brought the doctor theſe glad tidings, *Gaffer Pitchfork is murdered*

too, with thick ſame toady clap of thunder, and you do know, ſir, he was a main man for the church, and fought bravely for putting up the May-pole. At this the doctor ſcratched his head, and ſaid, *It is appointed to all men once to die.*

My landlady at *Hartly Row*, who is a good churchwoman, and very great with the parſon of the pariſh, is well aſſured, that *the late meteor is a viſible judgment upon us, for our putting down the convocation*, as ſhe calls it. I hope, when his majeſty hears this, he will ſummon the parſons again, to ſave us from comets and lightning, and to rebuke the nation once more for infidelity, in not believing in them, and alſo to convince the biſhop of *Bangor*, * by cenſuring him.

What pity is this, that neither the clouds, nor the ſun, nor the moon, nor the ſtars, *nor any thing above them*, can be brought to favour the cauſe of the church!

Providence is likewiſe, I fear, become an enemy to high-church; for it diſappoints her on all occaſions.

At a time when her foundations ſeemed to be laid deep, and her deſigns ripe for execution, on an unlucky firſt of *Auguſt*, the church's nurſe died, and the babe fainted. All

* Dr. *Hoadly*.

All the holy treachery and violence, uſed then by the church's friends, and all their ſeaſonable violations of treaties and oaths, were for that bout utterly loſt, and their conſcience and honeſty thrown away to no purpoſe.

This was an unkind diſcourteſy, which I fear they will never forgive, and yet, in *about a year's time afterwards*, the church was played another ſlippery trick, as bad as the former, by the removing out of this mortal life a monarch * who was champion and *gladiator in chief* for our *orthodox clergy*.

Relying on the faith of treaties abroad, and the obligation of oaths at home, we were quite deſtitute of forces, when the late earl of *Mar*, by rebelling againſt his Maker and his king, in favour of popery and the church, became the darling of our *genuine parſons*, who preſently voted him a *righteous* inſtrument in the hand of *Providence*, to bring in the pretender, and reſcue them from the inſupportable ties of faith and morality, *a burthen which neither they nor their predeceſſors ever would bear*. And it muſt be owned, they had then a tempting opportunity to avow publickly their long and con-

* Lewis XIV.

ſtant perjury and expectations, without any apparent danger of temporal loſs (a conſideration always uppermoſt with them) and yet they were ſo cautious as only to mutter their hopes privately to all the world.

The ſame *French* forces, which had ſo long contended the prize with all *Europe*, had now nothing elſe to do but break the peace, and pleaſe the parſons, and replant tyranny and *Roman* orthodoxy amongſt us.

Here was now a pleaſing proſpect for the church. *Mar* had a large army of *invincible Highlanders*; a formidable invaſion from abroad daily threatened us; we had tumults, madneſs, confuſion, and diſaffection in every pariſh in the nation, and in every county a riſing was feared and expected; and, in ſhort, things were running into a total diſſolution. So much had our *peaceful clergy* done, and ſo much had they to hope from their own doings. The church was very cock-a-hoop, and held up its head and crowed. By their behaviour and aſſurance, I dare pronounce that theſe *pious peace-makers and ambaſſadors of the meek Jeſus* would not have taken a compoſition of three parts of the church-land for their hopes of the pretender and the whole. They were even ſure of their point.

There

There is a parſon in *Somerſetſhire* (to name no more) who from the revolution had raved every *Sunday* with great zeal and devotion againſt foreigners. He had ſworn to king *William*, and hated him, and ſpread the ſame hatred through the whole pariſh, every one of whom he had debauched with drunkenneſs and diſloyalty. Upon his majeſty's acceſſion, he likewiſe ſwore to him and abuſed him, renewing with greater virulence than ever his imprecations upon foreigners. In one of his ſermons he had this expreſſion: *Suppoſe the time ſhould come when we ſhall have a king that does not underſtand the common prayer, what think ye will become of the poor church?* This excellent Chriſtian, when he thought the invaſion and deſolation, which he had long wiſhed to his native country, were at hand, began to tell his people, *That there was a wide difference between* ſome *foreigners and others, and that as they ought to abhor, and even deſtroy, ſuch of them as were the open or ſecret enemies of the church, ſo it was their duty to honour and entertain, and even to divide their ſubſtance with ſuch foreigners, as came to ſave it.* This was hint enough, and the doctrine was ſo clear, that a pretty young girl aſked her mother, who had as much knowledge as herſelf, *Whether theſe brave outlandiſh men would marry with us poor* Engliſh *volk?*

With ſuch ſort of management it is no wonder that the poor orthodox vulgar are worked up into the greateſt credulity and rage. I have met with ſome of them who thought it no ſin to murder *Hanoverians*, for that, they ſaid, they were men-eaters: And, when I aſked them how they came to know ſo much of the *Hanoverians*, they anſwered, *Oh, our parſon has told us enough of they!* Nay, ſome of them believe that his majeſty eat up all the children he ever had, except the prince, and they pretend to tell you how his royal highneſs was ſaved from the ſame fate.

To ſome of the clergy alone appertains the ſacred right of doing well by deceiving, and of promoting ruin, ignorance, and war for the proſperity of the church; and ſuch are the men whom the nation pays to propagate truth and morality, and maintain peace.

I will not here pretend to make an exact computation and compariſon between the number of the well affected and ill affected parts of the clergy; but I am not at all apprized that I wrong them, if I venture to ſay, that not one in ſeven of theſe conſcientious paſtors opened his mouth againſt the late rebellion in the weſtern counties.

In the pulpit they either ſay nothing of his preſent majeſty, or that which is much worſe than

than nothing; whereas in the late reign they were ſo blaſphemouſly loyal, that they ſeemed to have forgot Jeſus Chriſt, to preach up the queen.

But I was ſaying, that at *one juncture*, I mean during the rebellion, the hopes and views of our *genuine clergy* were in a promiſing poſture, and very near fulfilling; and many of them were ſo diſcerning as to ſee the finger of God in the rebellion, and they became ſureties every-where for providence, that it would go through with the work which *they* had begun. But providence deſerted them, and has never returned ſince.

And thus Providence refuſes to aid, though ſo often commanded, the intereſt of perjury and rebellion, though they are both ſo evidently for the good of the church.

I do not know whether they may not, in their private junto's and cabals, have come to a reſolution, that Providence is a ſchiſmatic; and the more, becauſe it is plain, that both Providence, and the Author of Providence, are irreclaimable diſſenters from the principles and practices of high-church. They ſeem to be ſo ſenſible of this, that they have long ſince diſplaced the Almighty, as much as in them lies, from any power or concernment in this

world or the other, having dubbed themſelves Gods and forgivers; and exerciſing with authority all the great offices of omnipotence.

The biſhop of *Bangor*, too, is the occaſion of no ſmall terror to the church, and in confederacy with her mortal foes; marching, as he does, at the head of truth, reaſon, ſcripture and ſincerity, and the like fanatical fellows, who have the hereſy and impudence to eſpouſe an intereſt diametrically oppoſite to that of the convocation.

This ill adviſed biſhop is ſo romantic and froward, as to think, that the clergy ought to depart from ſeveral points, which, though they are bloody antagoniſts to the ſpirit of the goſpel, yet do evidently tend to the glory of the church. His lordſhip ridiculouſly believes, that when a man is a good man, though *in this particular* he differs widely from the parſons, yet God will have mercy upon him. But, to ſilence this perverſe writer for ever, let him know that *theſe clergy* have endeavoured to pluck God's own keys out of his hands, and to hinder him from ſhewing mercy, or opening paradiſe, if he would. They like *fine cures* ſo well, that they have a mind to make the Almighty's government a *fine cure* too. Are not *ſuch prieſts* brave fellows, who would

make

make their Maker a minor, and themſelves his directors and guardians? When his lordſhip is informed of this, I hope he will drop the controverſy.

The biſhop is alſo grievouſly deceived in another inſtance: He is of opinion that the clergy ought to be the propagators and defenders of liberty and the goſpel. See here the ignorance of a father of the church! He does not know that Chriſtianity may be at the laſt gaſp, and yet the church in a moſt flouriſhing condition.

I could mention many more miſtakes of the biſhop's; and particularly he is ſo ill a churchman, as to think there is ſome force in oaths, and that they who take them ſhould not altogether break them. But as his lordſhip is out-voted, upon this article, by a vaſt majority of moſt orthodox teachers, I take it he deſerves no other confutation: Beſides, this is a ſort of reaſoning which he is uſed to.

There is no doubt a very good reaſon to be given, why theſe reverend examples of truth and piety play with oaths, and call upon the tremendous name of God to a lye. They themſelves ſay it is for bread, though ſome others think it is for drink. However that be, it

it is plain, perjury is but a ſmall fault, if any. Now, ſuppoſe his majeſty, taught by the church, ſhould break his oath, and ſeize its poſſeſſions, I know the parſons are ſo reaſonable a ſort of people, that they would never upbraid his majeſty for walking in their ſteps, and being forſworn. But I doubt, his majeſty is ſo much of a king, and a Chriſtian, that he will never be brought to follow his clergy in this path.

Before I have done with this head, I muſt give the parſons one caution. I beg them, for the time to come, never to upbraid any body with the practice of occaſional conformity; ſince probably ſome bitter preſbyterian, who does not honour the cloth, may give them to underſtand, *that it is almoſt as innocent to take the church-ſacrament for a place, as it is to be forſworn for a living.*

The happineſs of mankind is moreover a great and powerful antagoniſt to the church.

Here in *England* we enjoy ſuch a ſhameful ſhare of wealth and liberty, that it is no wonder our clergy are perpetually grumbling. If we were but ſo reaſonable and orthodox as to part with all our ſubſtance and privileges *to them*, it is almoſt probable, that theſe our good guides to miſery and ſalva-

tion

tion would grow content and eaſy; which it is impoſſible for men of their ſpirit and pretenſions to be, ſo long as we are ſo ſaucy and heterodox as to be rich and free.

In the territories of the church abroad, the prieſts enjoy the great good fortune of having never a happy layman under their dominion; and having, beſide, the power of fire and ſword, there is not a ſingle ſchiſmatic, nor the appearance of hereſy and knowledge amongſt them; but church-affairs go on in a bleſſed courſe of tyranny, ſodomy, and ſtupidity, without rub or diſturbance. Can any one wonder that our zealous clergy are tempted to an imitation of ſuch a pious pattern of *genuine church-power and plenty*, where the bible is locked up, and the laity ſtarve?

The nature of our government and conſtitution bring alſo no *ſmall danger to the church.*

In this country the *orthodox clergy* cannot excommunicate and damn a man, but preſently the *heterodox law* grants him a replevin. Beſides, we have ſeveral other bars to the felicity of the *church:* We have a parliament, and we have trade, and, which is worſe than all, the convocation cannot do what they pleaſe, and the king will not part with his prerogative to prorogue them. So that the law on one ſide, and the prerogative on the other,

grind

grind the poor church between the upper and the nether milſtone, as Mr. *Leſlie* emphatically complains.

There is one inſtance particularly, in which the prerogative bears hard upon the *church*. The parſons, you muſt know, to prove themſelves a well-born people, go for their parentage ſeventeen hundred years backwards, and father themſelves upon the *apoſtles*. Now not being able to prove this, either by record, *or reſemblance*, they have given occaſion to ſome *profane folks* to alledge, that the prieſts muſt needs be baſtards, *becauſe their parents* utterly *diſown them, and they are kept by the pariſh*. But they, on the other hand, ſcorning to part with their *apoſtolic birth*, have *forged* out a vaſt chain, long enough to hold ten millions of foxes; and this they call the *chain of ſucceſſion*; one end of which is tied to the *apoſtles*, and the other to *themſelves*; and it reaches from *Jeruſalem* to *Lambeth*, taking *Rome* in its way. This is an important, and even *miraculous* chain; for though it has frequently been broke, and there are gaps in it ſeventy years long, yet it has never been *once interrupted* to this day. It is like *Milton's* bridge, built by *Sin* and *Death* over the chaos, *wonderful* and *inviſible*. It is pity this cable rope of ſucceſſion

ſhould

ſhould lie thus *incog*, when, in the opinion of *high church*, the whole hierarchy *hangs* by it. It is, therefore, no wonder they maintain it with moſt *apoſtolic wrath* and *obſtinacy*.

But even here now, in the momentous point of ſucceſſion, the prerogative breaks in upon the caſſock, and the king, who is but a layman, creates biſhops, and by this act of his, does, as it were, beget *ſons and heirs to the apoſtles*. This is a ſad incroachment upon the privileges of the parſons, who have doubtleſs, *a divine right to breed each other*. I know they pretend they ſtill chuſe their biſhops, and on that occaſion mock God with prayers, as if they really did. Thus an apothecary's boy, or an old woman, by order of the doctor, adminiſters a clyſter; and, if a cure enſues, the boy or the old woman was the phyſician.

There are many other faults in our laws, in relation to the *church*, of which the *prieſthood* have juſt reaſon to complain. *Smithfield* is turned into a *meer* market, where bullocks are butchered *inſtead of heretics*, and the clergy are never again like to be complimented with a *burnt offering* from thence; and a diſſenter may now be ſo ſaucy as to worſhip God, and the parſon cannot puniſh him for it; and the laity are ſuffered to believe, that the revealed will of God is not hid; and there is a dangerous

opinion

opinion prevailing among us, that *the Almighty will not tumble us into hell for ſincerity and well-meaning:* and, to add no more, the clergy have not the government of all things.

The next thing I ſhall mention, which has adminiſtered great grief and *danger* to the *church*, is, *the high duty upon* French *wine and brandy*. This grievance is ſufficient to make all the *genuine parſons* in *England* malecontents. For, though they drink malt liquor in great quantities, and though *that* be of a windy nature, and is a great help to zeal, yet a dram is the *life of orthodoxy*, and claret is *clear wit*, to uſe their own waggiſh ſtile. I know a parſon who drinks nothing but ſmall beer, and he is a whig, as one may eaſily imagine, and unleſs he change his liquor, in order to change his principles, he is like to continue a whig till doomſday. So much does the church loſe by a *ſober ſon!*

Another cauſe from which the *genuine churchmen* are in great danger, is a reformation of manners, which would ſtrip them of many pretty liberties, and force upon them the *bitterneſs of morality*, which is too ſtrong meat for *theſe babes*. As *orthodoxy* and *lewdneſs* are often the lovingeſt neighbours in the world, it muſt needs go to their heart to be parted.

In Popiſh countries, for example, where the clergy often fall into ſuch *carnal crimes and copulations*,

lations, as *our ſpotleſs ſociety of ſaints here at home* do abhor; would it not be a heavy judgment upon a *pious prieſt* to be ſtripped at once of his *whore* and his *altar?* and then, would not an *embargo* on *toping*, in the ſame countries, have an aſpect every bit as terrible towards the church? For there are, beyond ſea, ſuch *monſters as drunken prieſts*; though my countrymen, who never ſee ſuch ſights here in *England*, may imagine I talk wildly. And now for an honeſt tippling *prieſt*, who would as freely ſuffer death as thirſt, to be thus reformed out of his bottle, and divorced from his croney barrel, would be *downright perſecution* and *a wounding of the church through his ſides.*

A reformation is likewiſe ſo tyrannical and hard-hearted, as to oblige the clergy to live as if there was really ſomething in religion, beſide *farce* and *tithes*; and it expects too that theſe ſpiritual militia ſhould be, at leaſt, now and then upon duty, and not live idle above ſix days in ſeven, and upon the ſeventh, not above nineteen hours in four and twenty.

Beſides, a reformation would be for reviving the force of ſcripture laws, which bear wonderous hard upon the clergy. I remember particularly, the third chapter to *Timothy* lays ſuch intolerable injunctions and reſtraints upon them, as muſt needs be as far from the liking of the *genuine parſons*, as I am ſure they are from their practice; for the aforeſaid chapter expects they

ſhould

ſhould *be no brawlers, nor ſtrikers, nor greedy of filthy lucre, nor given to wine; nor lifted up with pride; but, on the contrary, that they ſhould be blameleſs, vigilant, ſober, of good behaviour, and apt to teach*; and I know not how many more impoſſibilities.

A gentleman in this city, whoſe heart is ſet upon a reformation of manners, gave me, not long ago, the peruſal of his creed, out of which I drew the following dangerous poſitions, and now I publiſh them, that the *genuine* clergy may guard againſt them.

1. He believes that a man may be ſaved by adhering to *naked truth and plain religion.*

2. That it is not damnable, not to believe what we cannot believe.

3. That Chriſtianity is as good a man as Orthodoxy, *ſaving the judgment of the clergy.*

4. That it is poſſible for a paſtor to have grace in his heart, though he has never a roſe in his hat, and that he may tell truth, and inſtruct the people, though he be not wrapped up in twenty ells of Holland.

5. That an innocent infant may be ſaved, without a parſon's dropping water upon its face.

6. That a well-diſpoſed perſon may eat bread, and drink wine, in remembrance of our Saviour's death, without the prieſt's form of words, which yet *do not change the elements*, which yet are a *proper ſacrifice*, which yet is not *fleſh and blood.*

7. That

7. That God may poſſibly pardon a repenting ſinner, though the *parſon* do not abſolutely *give his conſent*, and *order him ſo to do*.

8. That a man may venture to underſtand the *underſtandable* parts of ſcripture.

9. That there is ſuch a thing as a ſcrupulous conſcience; *with ſubmiſſion to the parſons*.

10. That a man may keep his oath to King *George*, and yet not be damned for it; *again ſaving the opinion and practice of the high church*.

11. That the clergy, as well as others, would be better, if they had fewer faults.

12. That diſſenters are our fellow-creatures.

13. That religion is a *rational thing*.

My acquaintance above-mentioned holds all theſe and more ſuch heretical notions, which, were they tolerated, would bring no ſmall danger to the church. But, I hope, her *genuine ſons* will continue their zeal, and defend her againſt them all.

Among many other cauſes which I could aſſign for the danger of the church, I ſhall mention but two; and theſe are two *holy days*, the 30*th of* January, and the 29*th of* May; a couple of days that ſend many a pious prieſt to meet his fate. Then it is that our *orthodox parſons* exert their wrath and eloquence with huge might and ſucceſs. They demoliſh the whigs, and then kill themſelves with joy and drinking. Cups and carouſals ſucceed to zeal and

ſcold-

ſcolding, and, many an able bodied Levite ſacrifices his ſobriety and his tabernacle, to the health and confuſion of the church and low-church-men. They ſend diſſenters to the devil, but go firſt themſelves, to tell him they are coming.

Thus half the *genuine clergy* lay hands upon themſelves, and pour their own deaths down their throats. Some of them depart ſpiced with *right Nantz*, others ſowſed in *October*, ſome pickled in *Florence*, and many ſteeped in *Oxford-ale*. *Ah theſe drunken holydays!* (ſays my witty friend Dr. *Byfield*) *no body gets by them but* Lucifer *and the exciſemen. They have turned the whole year into an idle jubilee, and the common-prayer-book into an almanac. I hate their ſuperſtitious trumpery———It is only the Whore of* Babylon *in an* Engliſh *vizor, and the Pope in a periwig. I remember the time, when we neither minded ſurplices nor ſaints days; and then! drunkenneſs was ſent to the ſtocks, and whoring to the uſe of correction. But now! the prieſts are gone aſtray, and the people follow them.*

I am acquainted with a *Roſicruſian* in this town, who holds a correſpondence with the *other world*, and in it with *Hugh Peters* particularly, from whom he lately received the following epiſtle, a copy of which he gave me. As it is the *neweſt* and beſt *apology* that ever was

was made for drunkenneſs, I chearfully publiſh it, for the *peculiar ſervice* of my *eccleſiaſtical clients*.

To the truly illuminate, and ſublimate by the ſymphony of the ſpirit of eſſence, bright above brightneſs, and bloſſom of inviſible knowledge, Jacob Fitz Behmen, *living* in the world; Hugh Peters, *a viſionary elect, wiſhes perpetuity of permanence.*

'You tell me that your friend, the *doctor*, 'drinks and decays apace, and that we ghoſts 'may ſoon expect his company, he being al-'ready almoſt *one of us*. I am glad of the 'news, and ſhall be pleaſed to ſee him. But 'I cannot with you condemn him for ſwal-'lowing ſo much brandy and wine: On the 'contrary, I applaud him, for his artful ſea-'ſoning of himſelf with hot liquors for his remo-'val into this *warm climate*, where, let me tell 'you, it is *dog-days* all the year.

'It was for want of this *extreme unction*, that '*Julius Cæſar* (the ſobereſt tyrant and whore-'maſter in the world) was plagued with the '*dry gripes* half a century after his arrival on 'this ſide the grave. *Alexander* the *Great*, by 'report, was wiſer, for it is a tradition here, 'that his ghoſt came reeking from a drunken 'feaſt, like a butterfly preſerved in ſpirit of 'wine.

'Many *great men*, and *judges of the earth*, 'have tried the ſame expedient with comforta-

'ble

'ble ſucceſs: But above all other ſpecies of 'mortals the reverend the clergy, my *bro-* 'ther trade, who underſtand their intereſt in 'the *upper world*, the beſt of all other charac- 'ters or *crafts* whatſoever, are not wanting in 'foreſight and ſagacity to fortify themſelves 'with hot liquors, and *hot ſermons*, againſt 'the influence of this hot region. You know, 'while they are in *your world*, they are great mo- 'nopolizers of fire and brimſtone, and when 'they come hither we do not grudge them *their* 'own commodity.

'It is from this tribe of men chiefly we have 'an account of what is doing on the *ſunny ſide* 'of the globe; for, being all *profeſſed politi-* 'cians and newſmongers, we find them the 'beſt intelligencers imaginable. Beſides, they 'are *conſtantly coming*, and by that means, we 'never want advices. So that, whenever we 'ſpy a *black ghoſt* ſtalking towards the ferry, we 'all cry out, with one mouth, *a mail from man-* 'kind.

'At *all ſeaſons* of the year we have them '*pretty thick*; but it is incredible what gluts 'of them arrive *a few days* after the 30*th of* Ja- 'nuary, and the 29*th of* May. And the reaſon 'is obvious; for——

Here friend *Hugh* falls into the ſame obſervations which I have already made, and ſhews, beyond

beyond contradiction, how his *brother-trade*, as he calls them, kill themſelves with preaching and debauchery, at *theſe high church tides*. Nothing ſo quickly deſtroys the conſtitution, *and the underſtanding*, as brandy, and tobacco, *and zeal*.

I have now, I may *modeſtly boaſt*, fully proved the danger of the church; and, by aſſigning the *true cauſes* of that danger, I am the only advocate ſhe has, who have not *lyed* upon *this occaſion*, ſeeing all the *numerous* aſſertors of her *holy peril*, who went before me, do, in the account they give thereof, *fib moſt outrageouſly*; though I, who am not of *their order*, dare by no means ſay ſo. *Theſe men* lay all the blame of this matter upon *infidels* and *profane perſons*; but I can never join with them in ſuch an unreaſonable charge; for I cannot think it at all likely that *the clergy* would wilfully *murder their own mother*, and ſo be guilty of *manſlaughter*.

My next taſk is to prove, *that the church ought to be in danger*, and this I ſhall do by ſhewing, *that ſhe gets by it*.

Pity is a potent paſſion, and whoever has the art of gaining it, ſeldom fails to draw our affections along with it. Now, the church having *no other way* of being beloved but to be pitied,

ſhe muſt, in order to *that*, appear exceeding miſerable and woful.

Miſery is often the *greateſt*, and ſometimes, the *only* merit, which attends perſons and things: For proof of this, I never ſaw *a rogue*, going to be hanged, though ever ſo *wicked* and *ugly*, but he was firſt *pitied*, and then *praiſed*; eſpecially by the women, who have a *ſtrange* bias to *weeping* and *being deceived*.

Hence it proceeded, that, when *the doctor* and *his* high-church were both thought in *a hopeful way* to the gallows, our *orthodox* compaſſion got the better of our *heretical* reaſon, and *the champion* merited our mercy, meerly by meriting a *halter*.

The church, therefore, if ſhe would be ſafe, muſt be always in danger; while ſhe is ſo, our concern for the *old woman* in diſtreſs will throw duſt in the eyes of our underſtanding, and effectually prevent a diſcovery of *her nakedneſs and wrinkles*.

And now, to conclude, what remains but that the danger of the church, which is grown ſo neceſſary to her well-being, be eſtabliſhed by a canon, and made the *thirty-tenth article of her faith*, to be believed *on pain of damnation?* In the mean while, let me aſſume to myſelf the juſt glory of having ſtarted the deſign of ſuch an article, by ſhewing *its reaſonableneſs*.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, *loving reader*, let me acquaint thee in a few words, with my own uſefulneſs and importance, which makes me, indeed, a little proud, but *not a bit vain*.

And in the firſt place, I have written a matchleſs defence of *prieſt-craft*, a taſk never attempted before. And yet the *maſters* and *guardians* of that *noble ſcience* have proved but unthankful clients, and even railed at *me*, *their apologiſt*, moſt unmercifully, and indeed *unanſwerably*. But I have always obſerved, that *orthodoxy has admirable talents for ſelling of oyſters*. I am, in particular, beholden to a great *doctor*, famous for paunch and principles, who preached a whole ſermon againſt me, in which he foamed and reviled, beyond a poſſibility of reply. Lord love him, *if poſſible*, it is the only way of reaſoning he knows.

I have likewiſe been moſt *chriſtianly curſed* in many other pulpits, with the ſame force of bitterneſs and lungs. Bleſs me, that my loving *prieſtly friends* will not be taught more wit! I had been rallying a ſort of men who are very ſad fellows, and ſhameful enemies to conſcience, truth, and their country; and preſently up ſtart the Lord's ambaſſadors, and cry, *We are the men, damn the author*. At ſuch odds are they with common ſenſe, and *the mercy of God!*

Secondly, I have convinced ſeveral laymen, *that there is another God beſide the clergy*, though they had lived long in ignorance as to that point. And I have advice from divers counties in *England*, that when the parſons cock their beavers, and give themſelves airs, the country folks cut them down with a *text* out of *parſon Alberoni*. When a vicar in *Kent*, the other day, ſent his clerk to a ſenſible clown in the pariſh, to demand his *Eaſter-dues* on *pain of excommunication*, *What*, ſays *Ralph* to *Sternhold*, *I warrant ye, you come ambaſſador now from the Lord's receiver general, don't you?* And the chief inhabitants of a pariſh in *Surry* have ſent a letter to their doctor here in town, begging him, *if his belly be not too full*, to come down and preach among them, and not to affront them any longer with *his journeyman*.

Thirdly, I have conferred reputation upon ſix and fifty authors, every one of whom was graciouſly pleaſed to write *my book* after it was in print, and they are heartily welcome. All their *other* works, when once they got into the corner of a bookſeller's ſhop, *grew rickety* for *want of handling*, and ſo could never travel over the counter, till a *grocer's apprentice* carried away the *helpleſs creatures* in a *charitable wheel-barrow*. Seven of theſe worthy gentlemen, and one of them a grave counſellor in the

the *temple*, confeſſed to me they were the authors of the *apology*, but modeſtly begged me not to diſcover them. I muſt, however, thank the bountiful Mr. *P*—— *H*——, for his uncommon goodneſs in adopting my poor *fatherleſs child*, as ſoon as it was brought forth into the public. I fear it is more than ever I ſhall be able to do for *one of his*.

I am told that one of theſe fathers of *my pamphlet* threatens to break ſquares with the court, becauſe they have not yet rewarded him with a thouſand pounds a year. But, I doubt, this ingenious pilferer of *my parts* and *performance* is too haſty. Why, *even I*, who have written full four half-ſheets, for the good of myſelf and my country, am not yet lord high admiral, nor have ſo much as the proffer of a *blue garter*; which ſo diſcontents me, that I will write no more theſe three days; but then I will ſet about my *apology for great men*, in which I will prove them to be the civilleſt creatures breathing to *their own public perſons*. Reader, *Adieu, for a fortnight*.

P. S. *I acknowledge the former part of this book has been laid at the door of a gentleman or two, whoſe names do me honour. I wiſh they may be as well pleaſed on this occaſion as I am.*

Cardinal *ALBERONI's*

LETTER

TO A

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

FOR THE

SUPPORT of the CHURCH,

By Introducing

IGNORANCE and SUPERSTITION.

In ANSWER to a

LETTER of that PRELATE's wherein he desires to be made a CARDINAL.

First Printed in the YEAR 1719.

Cardinal *ALBERONI*'s LETTER, &c.

Moſt Reverend and Holy Brother,

NOtwithſtanding the great multiplicity of buſineſs I am now engaged in, which calls for more than ordinary application; yet the eſteem and affection I have for you, obliges me to anſwer the overtures you were pleaſed to make to the king my maſter, by his excellency the *Marquis de Monteleone*. I cannot but thank your lordſhip for congratulating me on the promotion my maſter has been pleaſed to honour me with, and for the ſervice you are ſo good as to think I ſhall do the church in it. Truly, my lord, as I have the intereſts of it entirely at heart, I have uſed my utmoſt endeavours to procure your advancement to the higheſt ſtations in it. And I have the happineſs to tell you, that the pope is ſo well ſatisfied with your conduct,

that he deſigns you very ſhortly for the conclave: But, in his fatherly goodneſs, beſeeches you to continue a little longer your dutiful reſolutions of ſerving him in the poſt you are now in. As I am ſenſible no one has deſerved the hat better than yourſelf, you may be aſſured, that your merit will have the ſucceſs you deſire. But the neceſſity of our affairs requires your attendance a little longer in that ſtation, where you are ſo great an ornament and ſupport. The obſtinacy of your king has embaraſſed me not a little, and defeated thoſe glorious deſigns I had laid for the ſovereignty of the church. His meaſures are ſo deſtructive of our grandeur, and ſo prejudicial to the power we have ſo juſtly exerciſed over the conſciences of the laity, that I have no other proſpect, but of the growth of hereſy, and particularly of that damnable one, of mens thinking for themſelves. How ſecure ſoever we might think ourſelves in thoſe times when churchmen were ambaſſadors, and all the honours of the ſtate deſigned for ſome patriots of the clergy; yet thoſe happy days are paſt, and I can foreſee nothing now but the ruin of the church, ſince you and our other friends are unemployed, and none but mean ſervile ſpirited perſons advanced, that have not ſouls formed for the plea-

ſure

ſure of commanding. Pray, my Lord, what is a clergyman that is not full of the dignity of his order? Men are to be borne down with the notion of our imaginary preheminence: If our characters are examined, our reputation muſt ſink; but, while the laity admire implicitly the loweſt of our order, how much muſt they adore the greateſt? But I need not mention this to your lordſhip, who are ſufficiently ſenſible of the excellency of your profeſſion, and comfort yourſelf with all that diſtance and majeſty that becomes a ſpiritual prince. But give me leave, my lord, to ſay, your reſolution of oppoſing your king, in all his meaſures, is full of piety and catholic obedience; it is agreeable to the conduct of your illuſtrious predeceſſors, and highly beneficial to the church, whoſe intereſt is always inconſiſtent with a gentle and virtuous reign, and whoſe happineſs can never be reconciled with any thing but arbitrary and unlimited power. Upon this view, I think I can never enough commend your lordſhip's zeal, and your paſſionate defence of our eccleſiaſtical prerogatives, and that you ſo well juſtify perſecution under the notion of wholeſome ſeverities, and Chriſtian compulſion: Though, at the ſame time I cannot but grieve, that you ſhould be obliged to make

uſe of ſuch a ſubterfuge of words, and that your ſword cannot eſtabliſh what reaſon contradicts. But ſince truth at laſt will prevail, and whatever ſpecious arguments may be uſed by us, under the pretence of guarding eſtabliſhed religion, a moſt uſeful word, and what we can never depart from but to the deſtruction of our power; let me only remind your lordſhip of ſome maxims which I think extremely conducive to our intereſt, and what muſt at laſt, if rightly purſued, beat down all oppoſition.

Firſt then, my Lord, you are ſenſible, by all the ſteps you have taken, and the whole tenor of your conduct, that nothing ſo much preſerves the power we have uſurped, as the encouragement of an implicit dependence of the laity on the clergy; to inculcate that nothing deſtroys faith ſo much as reaſon; and, whatever contradiction it may be in ſenſe, yet in religion it is an eſtabliſhed rule, that the better any man ſees, the more occaſion he has for a guide, and that he walks moſt ſafe and ſecure that is moſt blind, eſpecially if he has the good fortune to be led by another full as blind as himſelf. This is ſo fundamental a truth, that I do not ſo much wonder, that your pious and learned convocation has ſo warmly cenſured thoſe contrary doctrines that

have

have been lately advanced; I am ſurprized that every clergyman has not oppoſed them with all the vehemence ſo great a cauſe deſerves: For notwithſtanding the great reaſon of your antagoniſt, and his virtuous and unblemiſhed life, yet the whole body of the clergy, ſeparated as well as united, ſhould have riſen up in this common concern; and whatever they want in learning, ſenſe, or ingenuity, ſhould have been made up by malice and detraction. Not that I think I ought to accuſe any of thoſe that have wrote againſt him upon this head; but methinks enough has not been done, conſidering the importance of the ſubject, and the many and excellent examples they have had in all times of the church: For I need not tell you of the fatal conſequences of theſe opinions, you know them too well, not to oppoſe them with a proper warmth; but ſtill let me tell you, if a timely ſtop be not put to the growth of this accurſed hereſy, no clergyman ſhall hereafter dare to be vicious, ignorant, and lewd, but he ſhall immediately loſe the reſpect that is due to his order. And what a deplorable ſtate Chriſtianity muſt then be in, we can only conſider with horror and conſternation. But if, my lord, men will be ſo abandoned and obſtinate, as not to renounce their reaſon, let me then recommend to your lordſhip's pious

thoughts

thoughts ſomething that may obviate the ill effects of ſuch notions, and what may at laſt effectually root out this hereſy. Nothing, my lord, can re-inſtate us in our old privileges, but a ſufficient competency for the clergy, independent of the laity. Let the church purchaſe every advowſon, and then they may promote thoſe perſons that will beſt ſerve their intereſt. What ſway pariſh-prieſts naturally have, is too plain to be inſiſted on. Mens fears always make them ſlaves; and a ſkilful application to the paſſions, eſpecially in matters of importance, gives ſuch an authority that is not eaſy to be reſiſted. Let then every conſiderable benefice be appropriated; let the univerſities make uſe of the avarice of the laity to enſlave them, and let no price deter them: Then, when the church is in poſſeſſion of the means to aggrandize itſelf, the execution of their power will and muſt follow of courſe; then barbarity and ſuperſtition ſhall again flouriſh; and then dominion, riches, and veneration, that are due to men of ſuch exalted characters, ſhall be eſtabliſhed. And, to convince you how neceſſary ſuch a proviſion is, let me obſerve, that no ſooner were the revenues of the church ſacrilegiouſly plundered, but our authority dwindled. The policy and

management

management of ſuperſtition could no longer be carried on, when the end of that ſuperſtition was deſtroyed; and the reformation was only made effectual, by ſtopping up the avenues of our wealth, and conſequently by making the clergy dependent for ſubſiſtance. And here I cannot but conſider, with incredible ſatisfaction, the wiſdom of our eccleſiaſtical ſcheme: Every thing bears ſuch a proportion ſo fitted for the proſperity and glory of the church, and to keep mankind our ſlaves by a continued ſtate of poverty and oppreſſion, that I am amazed, when I think how it was poſſible ſuch an united force could be broke, founded on ignorance and ſuperſtition, and made more ſtrong by the advantage we gained by their combination. But as this ſcheme was entirely built on worldly prudence; as the glory and riches of the church were only conſidered, without any regard to virtue, probity, or true religion, ſome were righteous zealots that had no paſſions to gratify, and no ambition but to do good (as there are ſome of the ſame principles now) began to be offended at the vicious lives of the clergy, and inveighed againſt the uſurpation we had exerciſed ſo fully over the underſtandings of mankind: And as our authority ſubſiſted only upon implicit

plicit reſpect, and was only ſecure by being not examined, down it fell, the object of ſcorn to atheiſts, but of grief and pity to all true ſons of the church. But as ambition, pride, and luxury are paſſions we cannot reſiſt, we begun of late to feel the happy effects of our influence over the weakneſs of the people, by the uncommon admiration of our characters, as God's ambaſſadors. Our uſeful doctrines of confeſſion and abſolution were boldly enforced, and the ignorant prieſt repreſented as a reconciler of God unto men. Your convocation glorioufly laid the foundations of our future power and incroachment, by diſplaying the danger and deceit of mens thinking for themſelves, and perſecution artfully was encouraged under the harmleſs name of ſelf defence, by the ſtrong guard of penal laws; a method that will deſtroy at the ſame time it gives us the pleaſure of hypocriſy and diſſimulation. Since we had arrived ſo far, what an infinite mortification was it to us all, to ſee the hopes of ſo fruitful a harveſt entirely diſappointed, eſpecially when our arms had flattered us with ſuch a vaſt proſpect of ſucceſs! So that, in the anguiſh of my heart, I can ſcarce help applying the prophecy of the church's continuance, to the party that oppoſes us, *That the gates of hell ſhall not prevail*

prevail againſt them. But notwithſtanding, my Lord, let us remember, *Non precibus, ſed arte & ingenio ſuperandum eſt*; we are not yet arrived to that pitch of wickedneſs, as to think that God will aſſiſt us; and therefore our dependance muſt be on ourſelves. Let then your firſt care be, to make the clergy independent of the ſtate, give them an eaſy fortune, and free from all poſſibility of want; and then their natural ambition will ſpur them on to the higheſt points of power; fire them, if they want it, with the renowned examples of *Anſelm*, *Becket*, and *Laud*; and, though books and reading, be their averſion, yet ground them in the great actions of theſe prelates, till you bring them to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and there leave them to their pious meditations. But I could wiſh, my Lord, that the ignorance of the clergy that are well affected to us, was not quite ſo great. They ſeem to have the ſame ſtupidity as if they had no oppoſers; but they ſhould conſider, that they are to ſtruggle and contend with a laity that know the ſcriptures, which they do not: That they are well verſed in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and conſequently ſenſible of the deſigns and corruptions of the clergy, who ſee, that the laity have been formerly groſsly deceived; and that the

the ſame ſort of men would deceive them again, having the ſame intereſt. That I am amazed they do not uſe the utmoſt artifice, call up all their cunning, and, if it is poſſible, counterfeit being honeſt men for once, to gain the end they propoſe. But, though I cannot but grieve at this uncommon careleſsneſs, yet it is ſome pleaſure to me, to find your legiſlature concurring in my ſentiments, in giving the univerſities a power of nominating to the benefices of catholic patrons: Were ſuch a power in other hands, it might be fatal to us; but there it is ſafely lodged, and contributory to every purpoſe we can deſire. You do well to advance every thing that tends to the ſupport of our perſuaſion, and oppoſe every thing that may unite the differences of thoſe that diſſent from the communion of the church; wiſely you inveigh againſt the plauſibleneſs of their perverſeneſs and obſtinacy, and deprive them of the common and natural birthright of ſubjects. It was this firſt raiſed the church, and the ſame methods will prevail again. And if it ſhould, then (let us enjoy the lovely thought) ſhall confeſſion, by its happy diſarming itſelf, lay each family at our feet, while perſecution ſhall march majeſtic with its croſier, and beat down all oppoſers. Then ſhall hereſy, though cloathed

cloathed with every virtue, be thrown into the fire, and excommunication, mounted and attended like death, mow down whole nations; then may we ſatiate our revenge, indulge our deſire, and enjoy the honours, riches, and veneration of mankind without any merit whatſoever; in ſhort, have the full and neceſſary effect of an eſtabliſhment, that every mouth ſhould be ſtopped, or cry out, *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

Yours, &c.

THE

THE CHARACTER OF AN Independent *WHIG.*

First printed in the YEAR 1719.

INdependency at court is a hereſy in politics, never pardoned, *much leſs* countenanced *there*. Our *whig*, therefore, adheres to his principles, and has no pretenſions to a place.

——*Caret invidenda ſobrius aula.* He ſcorns all implicit faith in the ſtate, as well as the church. The authority of names is nothing to him; he judges all men by their actions and behaviour, and hates a knave of his own party, as much as he deſpiſes a fool of another. He conſents not that any man, or body of men, ſhall do what they pleaſe. He claims a right of examining all public meaſures, and, if they deſerve it, of cenſuring them. As he never ſaw much power poſſeſſed without ſome abuſe, he takes upon him to watch thoſe that have it; and to acquit or expoſe them, according as they apply it, to the good of their country, or their own crooked purpoſes.

As to religion, our whig is a proteſtant; not becauſe he was born ſo, according to the canting

canting abſurdity in vogue; or bred ſo, ſince in infancy religion is acquired like a leſſon in grammar, purely by the help of memory; and therefore children learn it, whether it be good or bad, as they do language from their nurſe, or their parents. But he is a proteſtant becauſe his judgment and his eyes inform him, that the principles of that faith are warranted by the bible, and conſiſtent with our civil liberties; and he thinks every ſyſtem which is not ſo, to be forgery and impoſture, however dignified or diſtinguiſhed.

In conſequence of this he has a great reſpect for the office of a clergyman; and for his perſon, if he deſerves it. But, if his doctrine or practice diſgraces his order, our whig owns his contempt for the man. The clergy are the beſt or the worſt of men; and, as the firſt cannot be too much honoured, the latter cannot be too much deſpiſed. It is of good example, and there is equal reaſon in it. Why ſhould virtue and villany fare alike? Names do not change qualities, nor habits men. Where is the equity of rewards and puniſhments, and conſequently the force of all laws, human and divine, if vile men muſt be reverenced, and the good can be no more?

It is but reaſonable, that all men ſhould be judged by their actions, and reverenced, or ſcorned, according to the goodneſs or wickedneſs of their lives, without any regard had to their titles or garbs; which ſignify no more than a breath of wind, or the bark of a tree.

There is not a greater inſult upon the underſtandings of mankind, than for prieſts to challenge reſpect from their habit, when they have forfeited it by their behaviour. There is no ſanctity in garments. A roſe in a man's hat does not enlarge his piety. Grace is not conveyed by a piece of lawn, or chaſtity by the wearing of a girdle. A black gown has neither more ſenſe, nor better manners, than a black cloak. Nor is a black cloak more edifying than a fuſtian frock; no more than a cambric bib is an antidote againſt lewdneſs, or an atonement for it.

This conſecrating of garments, and deriving veneration from a ſuit of cloaths, is barefaced prieſtcraft. It is teaching the practice of idolatry to a gown and caſſock. If a little ſenſeleſs pedant, who is a living contradiction to virtue and breeding, can but whip into orders, and cover himſelf with crape, the firſt thing he does is to overlook and affront all mankind, and then demand their reverence.

His ſurplice is his citadel, and he claims the impunity of an ambaſſador for being graceleſs and ſaucy.

As to the common defence which is made for their immoralities; namely, That they are fleſh and blood as well as other men, it is a wretched piece of ſophiſtry. If they are not better than others, how are they fit to mend others? And, if they cannot leave their captivity to ſin and Satan, how come they to claim ſo near an alliance with heaven? If they have God's commiſſion in their pockets, and yet will engage in another ſervice, what name and treatment do they deſerve? We know the fate of rebels and deſerters in a lay government. Can men ſucceed to the apoſtles with the qualities and behaviour of apoſtates? How will they reconcile a holy calling to infamous lives? A clergyman, who is as bad as an ill layman, is conſequently worſe. In that character there is no medium between doing good and doing miſchief; ſince the influence of example is ſtronger than that of precept. As the doctrine and practice of piety make up the profeſſion of a clergyman; he who deſerts truth and holineſs, deſerts his profeſſion, and ought to be no longer owned for a teacher of religion, but ſhunned and hated, as a foe to religion and mankind.

The clergy have made ſuch a terrible and inhuman uſe of power, in all ages and countries where they could come at it, that our whig is for keeping their nails always pared, and their wings clipped, in this particular. Reaſon and liberty are the two greateſt gifts and bleſſings which God has given us, and yet where-ever a prieſtly authority prevails, they muſt either fly or ſuffer. They are enemies to the craft, and muſt expect no toleration. Darkneſs and chains are the ſureſt pillars of the ſacerdotal empire, and it cannot ſtand without them.

Let us remember archbiſhop *Laud*, who having got the regal power out of a weak prince's hands, into his own, ſet his face againſt truth, property, conſcience, and liberty, and trampled them all under foot for ſeveral years together. A ſpirit of cruelty and dominion governed this man, and he governed king and people. His heart was ſo impiouſly bent upon deſtroying conſcience and the conſtitution, and exalting the prieſthood, that, when any man was oppreſſed in a paltry, tyrannical, biſhop's court, the judges in *Weſtminſter-hall* durſt not obey their oaths, and the law, by relieving him; but were forced to be forſworn to avoid the anger of his *Grace*. This upſtart, ple-

beian prieſt, hoped to ſee the *time, when never a Jack gentleman in* England *would dare to ſtand before a parſon with his hat on.* A fine ſcene truly! to ſee a gentleman of fortune and breeding ſtand ſtooping, and bare-headed, to a ſmall, ill-nurtured vicar; who had, perhaps, formerly cleaned his ſhoes, and lived upon the crumbs that came from his table!

Let us look back into former ages, and round *Europe* at this day, and ſee whether abject ſlavery in the people is not, and always has been, the certain conſequence of power in the prieſts. It cannot be denied.

I thank God, I know no power our clergy have but that of ſuing for tithes, and the like privileges, which they receive from the law alone. Thoſe eccleſiaſtics who claim, by divine right, any other power, than that of exhortation, talk nonſenſe and belie the new teſtament. To the law, and the people who made that law, they owe their bread; and to ſet up for an independency in oppoſition to both, and pretend to a maſterſhip over them, is arrogant, dangerous, and ought to be penal. I am told it is capital, here in *England*, for a proteſtant to go over to the *Romiſh* religion; and yet ſhall a prieſt dare publicly, from the preſs and the pulpit, to claim, and to juſtify,

juſtify, the moſt eſſential and moſt formidable principles of popery; and thereby declare his reconciliation with that bloody religion, which is ſupported by frauds, bondage, and human ſlaughter: And ſhall he for all this go unqueſtioned? This, in my opinion, is to contend with impunity for uſurpation and rebellion.

Some would ſeem to qualify theſe pretenſions, by ſaying, that they claim a power, but not an independent power. Which ſeems, in this caſe, a ſort of a contradiction. For if it is a power, and yet depends upon another power, then is it, properly ſpeaking, a juriſdiction of ſubjection, and an authority under an authority. And, while the law and the hierarchy are thus owned to be maſter and man, we deſire no more.

Our whig is for an unlimited toleration of all diſſenters whatſoever, who own the laws and our civil form of government. As to their religious opinions, they are juſtified in them by ſincerity; and, even where that is wanting, God alone is able to judge, and alone has a right to puniſh. In matters of conſcience, he who does his beſt does well, though he is miſtaken; here all men muſt determine for themſelves: He who follows another in this

caſe, without inquiry, is man's votary, and not God's. As we have a right to enquire into the truth of any religion, we have alſo a right to leave it, if it appears falſe: But if it ſtands the teſt of examination, and appears true, then is our adherence to it founded upon our own judgment, and not upon authority. If there be no right of inquiry, where is the uſe of perſuaſion, which implies doubt? Or of reading the ſcripture, which implies underſtanding? We believe not a thing till we think it true; and cannot believe it, if we think it falſe: And to puniſh men for having eyes, or having none, is equally diabolical and tyrannical.

Men diſagree daily about matters which are ſubject to the examination of ſenſe: and is it likely that we can be all of a mind about things which are inviſible and diſputable? doctors themſelves are daily cavilling; every one contradicts another, and yet all are in the right, and each demands our faith to his particular invention. We cannot follow all; and among equal authorities pray which is the beſt? For the ſame reaſon that we cannot believe every one of them, we need believe none of them, upon their own word.

Our

Our whig goes farther, and thinks that all proteſtants ought to be equally employed in a ſtate to which they are equally well affected. The magiſtrate has nothing to do with ſpeculations that purely concern another life: Nor is it of any conſequence to him, whether his ſubjects have a greater fondneſs for a cloak or a ſurplice: Their affections to the political power, and their capacity to ſerve it, are only to be conſulted and encouraged. Provided a man loves liberty and his country, what is it to the commonwealth whether he ſings his prayers, or ſays them? Or whether he thinks a *biſhop*, or a *preſbyter* the nearer relation to St. *Paul?*

Theſe two words (*biſhop* and *preſbyter*) ſignify, in ſcripture, one and the ſame thing, and are equally uſed to ſignify one and the ſame officer. Our great church-men, indeed, have been pleaſed to think the bible miſtaken in this matter, and to be in the right themſelves. They have made epiſcopacy and preſbytery as oppoſite to each other, as paradiſe and purgatory; and have frequently gone to cutting of throats to prove their point.

I muſt confeſs a dioceſe, and a ſeat in the houſe of Lords, are unanſwerable reaſons for the divine right of epiſcopacy. There is no

way of confuting them. You may as well argue with a *Guiney* merchant againſt the ſelling of ſlaves.

Beſides, a lordly creature, who never preaches (miracles having long ago ceaſed) and keeps a great table and equipage, and enjoys all the great and good things of this life, carries in all theſe marks ſuch an evidence of his being St. *Paul*'s right heir, in a lineal deſcent, that I wonder any body *dare* doubt it.

However, as the plaineſt things in faith are made doubtful among divines, who have an admirable knack at ſtarting difficulties, where no body elſe would expect them; our whig is of opinion, that the teacher, who walks on foot, has as good a title to diſpute about religion, and maintain his own, as the right reverend doctor, who ſupports his orthodoxy with a coach and ſix; and ſhould be as much encouraged by the civil magiſtrate, if his principles and behaviour ſquare with the conſtitution. Is a man a better neighbour, or ſubject, for nodding to a table, at the upper end of a chancel, or for pronouncing his faith towards the eaſt? Our church-men may find good cauſe to enjoin theſe *neceſſary things*, which the ſcripture had forgot, and enjoy great benefit and obedience from the practice of them; but, in temporal

temporal matters, I am not fully convinced that they make a man's head wiſer, or his heart honeſter.

I cannot here omit taking notice of an old fallacious cry, which has long rung in our ears; namely, that of *No biſhop, no king.* This ſolid argument was uſed, with royal ſucceſs, by *king* James *the firſt*, when he ſat deputy for the clergy, and diſputed with the puritans, at the conference at *Hampton-Court.* It was, indeed, the beſt he could uſe; however he ſtrengthened, and embelliſhed it, with ſeveral imperial oaths, which he ſwore on that occaſion, to the utter confuſion of his antagoniſts, and the great triumph of the *genuine clergy* and the archbiſhop; who beſtowed the Holy Ghoſt upon his majeſty, for his zeal and ſwearing on the church's ſide.

This ſtupid *ſaying* has formerly filled our priſons with diſſenters, and chaced many of them to *America*; and by this means weakened the kingdom and the proteſtant religion, to keep up good neighbourhood between the biſhops and the prince. But they were neither the biſhops, nor their creatures, that reſtored *king* Charles *the ſecond*, but a ſet of true blue preſbyterians, who were rewarded for it with gaols, fines, and *ſilent ſabbaths.*

Loyalty is not confined to the mitre. Biſhops have given more diſturbance, and occaſioned more diſtreſſes to prince and people, than any other ſort of men upon earth. This I can prove. Our own biſhops, for near an hundred years before the revolution, were in every ſcheme for promoting tyranny and bondage. On the other hand, our diſſenters were ever eminent oppoſers of arbitrary power, and always lived peaceably under thoſe princes who uſed them like ſubjects. If they took up arms when they were oppreſſed, church-men have done the ſame, and often without that cauſe.

Had it not been for diſſenters, I queſtion whether we ſhould now have had either this conſtitution, this king, or this religion. It is well known that a great majority of our church-men have got *claims* and *principles* utterly irreconcileable to either. The moſt miſchievous tenets of popery are adopted and maintained, and the ground, upon which our ſecurity and ſucceſſion ſtand, is boldly undermined. It is dreadful and incredible what a reprobate ſpirit reigns amongſt the high clergy.

The convocation have fallen fiercely upon thoſe who have fallen upon popery and Jacobitiſm.

bitiſm. And what a popiſh, impious and rebellious ſpirit reigns at *Oxford*, they themſelves ſave me the trouble of declaring. Diſaffection is promoted; open and black perjury is juſtified; and it is held lawful to defy almighty vengeance for a morſel of bread. A man's conſcience is tried by an oath, and he that can ſwallow any, has none.

But it is not enough to ſhipwreck their ſouls for their livings, nor to keep this helliſh corruption at home. As they practiſe ſo they teach, and the ſpreading of their own guilt, and the making others as bad as themſelves (if laymen can be ſo) is made the duty of their functions, and the buſineſs of their lives. Can Antichriſt do worſe? And are theſe men, who walk in the paths of atheiſm and perdition, fit to lead others to holineſs and eternal life?

One of the greateſt men of the laſt age told king WILLIAM, that the univerſities, if they continued upon the preſent foot, would deſtroy him, or the nation, or ſome of his ſucceſſors. And they have ever ſince been endeavouring to make good his words. That prince was ſo thoroughly apprized of the dangerous genius and principles of theſe two bodies of men, that he intended a regulation, but, as it is ſaid, was prevented by the pernicious advice of the

late duke of *S*———, who had at that time gained the king's confidence, and was at the head of the whigs, but was betraying both, and making a party with the tories, as afterwards plainly enough appeared.

How far, and how faſt, theſe ſeminaries have ſince then corrupted and inflamed the people, every body knows, and the nation feels. Had it not been for them, we ſhould have lighter taxes, and fewer ſoldiers.

Upon the coming in of his preſent majeſty, we thought we had a right to expect ſuch meaſures of government as would not only ſecure us for the time being, but prevent a relapſe into the dangers out of which Providence had juſt plucked us by the death of———.* It is certain that the king brought along with him, and ſtill preſerves a diſpoſition to do us all the good which we can propoſe or deſire.

All thoſe whigs therefore who had no ſecret ends to ſerve by dark dealings with the tories, nor private fortunes to raiſe by neglecting or perplexing the public, inſiſted upon the puniſhment of thoſe who had bargained away the nation, and upon a viſitation of the univerſities, and both were undertaken and promiſed. But, why neither was done, they who are concerned can beſt tell, if telling was proper.

* Queen Anne.

proper. In the mean time they cannot blame us for gueſſing.

I am only ſorry that the great and ſurprizing tenderneſs, which ſome have ſhewn for the high clergy, has not been able to produce one inſtance of loyalty or moderation. Perhaps the prieſthood will accept of no alliance without a total alteration; and that the adoption of two or three eminent perſons of their faction into partnerſhip with ſome other eminent perſons, pretending to be of a different faction, will not do.

However that be, the univerſities ſeem to dread no ſuch thing as a viſitation. Whether they have aſſurances given them, or whether they take their conjectures from our other meaſures for reformation, I cannot ſay.

The ſame ſpirit which leads us to leſſen our taxes and clear the public, and to enlarge the bottom of liberty and the proteſtant faith by unyoking of diſſenters, will carry us alſo to remove the corruption of our ſeminaries, and their diſaffected ſpawn in too many pariſhes. But, when ſuch a ſpirit will ariſe, we are not able to foretel. We have been already long deluded with many prophecies and promiſes of that kind, which, as poſitive as they were, and as probable as they appeared, have never

never been fulfilled. We have been even tired with hoping and believing, and now deſpair and infidelity have ſucceeded, and are like to laſt as long as their cauſes laſt.

Our liberties, in the mean time, lie exceeding precarious. The high clergy have ſtill the ſame engines to play againſt them, which in time paſt have gone very near utterly to overturn them. Their divine right is preſerved as the apple of their eye; a blind belief in *them* is inculcated with all their might; and a blind obedience to any royal idol, who will purchaſe their flattery by worſhipping them, is at all times the burden of their harangues. As to this laſt article, we are, I thank God, very ſafe at preſent; but the *preſent* will not be always.

I could here wonder, for two or three pages, at the marvellous ſtrength of nonſenſe, and the pitiful weakneſs of human minds, who by the perſuaſion of falſhood and contradiction can grow zealous for their own bonds and wretchedneſs. And yet is it not ſo in moſt countries, where people are miſerable by the advice of their prieſts to pleaſe a tyrant?

There are bounds ſet to the power of our princes, by the ſame laws which made them princes. An *Engliſh* king is limited as well, though not ſo much as a *Dutch* ſtadtholder, and

for

for the ſame reaſon. The difference of names alters not the caſe. Would a *Dutch* prieſt dare, in that free country, to tell the people, that they ought to be ſlaves to an officer of their own making, and yet go without a whipping, or diſmiſſion, or ſomething ſtill worſe? Is it high treaſon to aſſert that a king has no title, and ought to be depoſed? And is it no crime to argue and maintain that the people are ſlaves, and their lives and property at the mercy of one whom they created, and whoſe duty it is, to defend thoſe lives and that property?

It is true, too many of the high clergy never once practiſe this doctrine themſelves, and never encourage it in others but for profitable purpoſes. But ſuch is their want of ſhame, that they never quit it, and yet never obſerve it. They preach againſt rebellion, and practiſe rebellion, juſt as they are pleaſed, or out of humour.

Our whig ſees with pain and fear the dangerous condition of our debts and taxes. They are a heavy and melancholy load upon the nation, and will be ſo, till it pleaſes God to raiſe up proper hands to relieve us, and who will ſet about it, while it is yet practicable, before more new wars have puzzled and increaſed

our

our accounts beyond a poſſibility of clearing them. They are at preſent a canker in the hearts of many people, and create numerous foes, whom we in vain ſtrive to terrify or reconcile, if we do not leſſen their burdens.

From hence the enemies of our peace and liberty take pretence, and find ample materials, for ſowing diſaffection; and we in vain confront, or contradict them. If we are aſked, when we ſhall have done *fighting* and *taxing?* we either know not what to anſwer, or if we name a time for their ending, at leaſt their beginning to end, they will not take our word.

With the cure of public evils, diſaffection will be cured alſo. All men, therefore, who are friends to the king, or the nation, will labour this happineſs; will avoid entering into all wars which are not abſolutely neceſſary to the public ſecurity, and will take every opportunity to end thoſe which are ſo, upon honourable terms: And by this teſt let them be tried: We have before our eyes a pregnant inſtance in *France* (and, I doubt, a dangerous one too for its neighbours) where an almoſt univerſal diſaffection is changed into as univerſal a love to the adminiſtration, upon the appearance of its acting for the public good.

We have ſo good a prince, that, let our debts be ever ſo high and embaraſſed, we have

no

no reaſon to fear a ſponge, or a ſtanding army, to clear the kingdom of its mortgages, though it could be done no other way: And in his goodneſs is our greateſt hope. There are many good ſubjects who terrify themſelves with ſuch imaginations, which, indeed, are truly terrible, were they well grounded. But his majeſty's virtue and the importunate call of the nation will, no doubt, be too hard, at laſt, for any ill management or worſe deſigns of any, who may find their account in dabbling in public misfortunes; and who, whilſt they think they tread upon a worm, may rouſe a lion.

Let us remember the ſad fate of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. They ran into debts by running into wars, and the court took the advantage of their neceſſities to ſeize their liberties. They grew ſlaves by growing inſolvent. Under his majeſty's reign we fear no ſuch thing; and, I hope, we ſhall ſcorn to ſuffer it under any other. Beſides, as we are told a remedy is intended, I doubt not but we ſhall ſee it the enſuing ſeſſions, when our burdens will be eaſed, and our difficulties removed. There is a noble fund of wealth in the nation, and we are yet redeemable, if proper perſons offer to undertake it.

Our

Our whig is a declared enemy to all wars, if they are not abſolutely neceſſary. Though he honours a ſoldier as he does a phyſician, yet he prays to God that he may never have occaſion for either. Arbitrary courts abroad, are, for the moſt part, compoſed of officers of the army; and our whig has ſo great a weakneſs about him, that he cannot, without very uneaſy images, ſee a glare of ſcarlet where he could leaſt wiſh it. He would not have the men of the ſword grow familiar to the eyes of the people, nor become the equipage of our *Britiſh* kings.

Military men are a proper equipage for thoſe princes who are fathers of their people againſt their will; who lay the foundations of juſtice in fear and blood, and uſe the ſword as the moſt natural means to ſupport thoſe foundations. In countries that are enſlaved, the ſword is the civil magiſtrate: That it is not ours is almoſt a wonder, conſidering the diſpoſition in many of our former princes to armies. Our kings of the *Norman* race were perpetually raiſing *Engliſh* forces for the preſervation of their *French* dominions, and engaging us in eternal wars on that ſcore. The army that enſlaved *Sweden* was raiſed for the defence and enlargement of their *German* Provinces,

Provinces, which were always a burden to that kingdom, and, at length, its utter ruin.

We do not at preſent ſee in *Great Britain* many more forces than are neceſſary to the civil liſt; and I hope in proper time there will not be one more. They furniſh another topic for clamour to the diſaffected, who raiſe rebellions, and, when they have given occaſion for more ſoldiers and more taxes, cry out, *Oppreſſion! oppreſſion!* Sure theſe people are mad; they dread the power of the court, and yet are every day helping it to more.

If a right uſe had been made of the late rebellion,* we might have had now no new ones to fear. But, for whatever reaſons I will not pretend to gueſs, the ſurgeons of that time were ſo exceeding gentle in their operations, that they left a core in the wound. Without doubt the motives for clemency were irreſiſtible.

I muſt here acquit his majeſty from the imputation of any fondneſs for a ſtanding army. I dare ſay the propoſal to diſband our forces, after the rebellion, met with no delay from *him*; and I have been told that he lately refuſed a very importunate requeſt to increaſe his troops. I muſt alſo do juſtice to the gentlemen of the army, for having ſo well

* 1715.

well done their duty. If our high clergy were but equally faithful to their oaths, and equally friends to their country, we ſhould have ſeen neither new troops nor rebellions. The army has ſaved us from the high church. But, for all that I have ſaid, I ſhould be ſorry to ſee the people of *England* either love or fear a ſtanding force: To do either infers danger.

I doubt not but, when his majeſty ſhall think fit to diſband more troops, his miniſtry will act with alacrity and without art: Becauſe the diſmiſſing of ſome common ſoldiers *only*, after much expectation from one party, and more noiſe from another, will be ſubject to unkind interpretations.

I hope the power of quartering ſoldiers is always impartially executed, and that no conſideration is of any force on this occaſion, but that of the public ſecurity, and the loyalty or diſloyalty of the towns. I am perſuaded we ſhall never hereafter ſee a regiment removed out of a town avowedly diſaffected, into another which does not want dragoons to keep it quiet, purely becauſe the commanding officer has it in his eye to ſtand candidate for that town, if ever there ſhould be another occaſion; as I am informed has been practiſed in former reigns.

Our

Our whig was well enough pleaſed with our attack upon the *Spaniſh* fleet. It became us, as ſovereigns of the ſea, to pull down betimes the riſing maritime power of *Spain*, and thereby ſecure our dignity and trade. But whether the blow was well purſued, I am not a proper judge. I ſhall only ſay, for the honour of *Great Britain*, that we are certainly the beſt *allies* in the whole world, and have the moſt civil way of fighting our neighbours battles for them.

It is a very uncommon, though perhaps a neceſſary kindneſs, to employ at an immenſe expence the royal navy of *England*, as tranſports for the emperor's troops, and to cruiſe about a country at ſuch a diſtance from us, and for ſo long a time together. I doubt not but there will be very good reaſons given for it, if the parliament ſhall ever think fit to call for them.

I muſt here do our ſuperiors the juſtice to own, that they take effectual and ſpeedy methods to finiſh the *Spaniſh* war. For notwithſtanding that we had a great fleet in the *Streights*, and another in the *Baltic*, a third was diſpatched with much reſolution and expence to frighten the cardinal into pacific meaſures, and to conquer *Vigo*, though we were threatened

threatened at the ſame time at home with a dreadful invaſion from the late duke of *Ormond*. But no domeſtic danger can hinder a brave people from exerting their martial genius, and making a heroic figure abroad.

In this *Vigo* expedition it is ſaid we have had wonderful ſucceſs. For, not to mention that the town would infallibly have been plundered, had not the inhabitants gutted their houſes when they run away, it is certain that we have vanquiſhed ſeveral great guns and brought them away captives. It is alſo credibly reported that we have taken from the enemy ſome of their fiſhing tackle.

Our whig allows great men to have their private failings and paſſions. It cannot be otherwiſe; and they are unreaſonable and ill bred who upbraid them with it. But in the name of God, let them not indulge them at the expence of the nation. Let them not poſtpone the care of the public welfare to mind their own. Let them not out of perſonal piques give up whig boroughs into Jacobite hands. Let them not, for the ſake of a miſtreſs or a crony, diſable worthy men, and patroniſe worthleſs. Let them not run into mad dangers, and then endeavour to alter and confound the conſtitution for their perſonal ſecurity from

ſrom thoſe dangers. Let them not out of ſelf-ends, and for ſecret (perhaps pernicious) jobs, be tampering and juggling with the nation's enemies, and deſerting and betraying that party which is eminent for its love of liberty, to thoſe who are its ſtigmatized enemies.

The duke of *Buckingham*, chief miniſter to the bleſſed martyr, involved his country in two wars at a time, when the *exchequer* was empty, with the two great neighbouring kingdoms, becauſe he was balked in his luſtful deſigns upon a *French* lady and a *Spaniſh*. And the duke of *Lauderdale*, becauſe he was diſobliged by the kirk, a member of which he once was, ruled his native kingdom of *Scotland*, by a great army and ſanguinary laws, all the reign of king *Charles* the ſecond.

I cannot forbear digreſſing a little here, to ſhew the wretched ſtate of *Scotland* at that time. High church, which by force and cruelty had expelled preſbytery, enjoyed then a rare time of revelling in the blood of ſchiſmatics. The orthodox prieſts became every where informers againſt the preaching and praying of nonconformiſts, and the ſoldiers, to pleaſe the prieſts, became their butchers. And the poor religious people, when caught

provoking

provoking the clergy by devotion, were unmercifully put to death without law, jury, or record. So were thoſe men rewarded, who had received and crowned that king, when his life was ſought by thoſe who took away his father's.

But to return. I can prove it, that the whole legiſlative power of this nation has been in former reigns engaged in gratifying a diabolical paſſion of one man; and our ſecurity and liberties have been ſacrificed to humour, or a miſtreſs. When a miniſter makes haſte to be rich, the ſervice of his country muſt either lie ſtill, or go on no faſter than he gets by it. A whole people was finely employed, when they were labouring for the pocket of one who was betraying them at the ſame time. Moſt men are willing to allow a great officer, if he would but carefully cook the nation's money, to lick his own fingers, and thrive upon his employment. But he who exhauſts the nation for his own uſe, is a public highwayman, and the whole kingdom ſhould be his proſecutors. I do not believe that there are any ſuch practices at preſent — I pray God defend us from them for the future. That ſuch things may be ſafely done, is evident from hence, that of all the overgrown

leeches

leeches of the laſt reigns (for I ſuppoſe there have been none in this) not one has been yet drained of his ill got wealth.

Gaming is ſo dreadful a vice, eſpecially in thoſe who are any way intruſted with our Liberties, that I cannot paſs over it in ſilence.

A man who will venture his eſtate will venture his country. He who is mad enough to commit his all to the chance of a dye, is like to prove but a faithleſs guardian of the public, in which he has perhaps no longer any ſtake. It is a jeſt, and ſomething worſe in a man who flings away his fortune this way, to pretend any regard for the good of mankind. His actions give his words the lye. He ſacrifices his own happineſs, and that of his family and poſterity, to a ſharper or an amuſement, and by doing it ſhews that he is utterly deſtitute of common prudence and natural affection; and, on the contrary, an encourager and example of the moſt deſtructive corruption; and after all this ridiculouſly talks of his zeal for his country, which conſiſts in good ſenſe and virtue joined to a tenderneſs for one's fellow-creatures. When he has wantonly reduced himſelf to a morſel of bread, he will be eaſily perſuaded to forſake his wretchedneſs and accept of a bribe. Who

would truſt their property with one who cannot keep his own? The ſame vicious imbecillity of mind which makes a man a fool to himſelf, will make him a knave to other people. So that this wicked proneneſs to play, which is only the impious art of undoing and being undone, cuts off every man who is poſſeſſed with it, from all pretence either to honeſty or capacity. I doubt *England* has paid dear for ſuch extravagancies. A law-maker and a gameſter, is a character big with abſurdity and danger. I wiſh that in every member of either houſe, gaming were attended with expulſion and degradation; and, in every officer civil or military, with the loſs of his place. A law enjoining this penalty would be effectual, and no other can. We ſee it goes on, upon the preſent foot, in ſpite of ſatyr and acts of parliament. I would have this execrable corruption meet with no encouragement. The frowns of the court would certainly put a check to it, but then there muſt not be an office kept on purpoſe for it.

Our whig has an equal averſion to maſquerades. They are a market for maidenheads and adultery; a dangerous luxury oppoſite to virtue and liberty. There was ſomething like them formerly in the reigns of our worſt

worſt princes, by the name of *maſks*. As the preſent reign reſembles theſe in nothing elſe, ſo neither would I have it reſemble them in this. They were revived, or rather introduced, after the *French way* by a *foreign ambaſſador*, whoſe only errand then in *England* could be but to corrupt and enſlave us, and for that end this mad and indecent diverſion was practiſed and exhibited by him as a popular engine to catch looſe minds, or to make them ſo, with great ſucceſs. What good purpoſe they can ſerve now, I would be glad to know? —— The miſchief of them is manifeſt both to the public, and private perſons; a handle is taken from them to traduce ſome great characters, whom I would have always reverenced; and they are viſibly an opportunity and invitation to lewdneſs.

If people will have amuſements, let them have warrantable and decent ones; as to maſquerades, they are ſo much the ſchool of vice, that, excepting a law to declare it innocent and ſafe, I queſtion whether human invention can contrive a more ſucceſsful method of propagating it.

The practice of the commonalty is formed upon the example of the great, and what the latter *do* the former think they *may do*. If a

city wife has it in her head, againſt her huſband's inclinations, to take the *pleaſures* of the maſquerade, ſhe has but to tell him that my lady dutcheſs of ——— is to be there (no doubt upon the ſame errand) and the poor, ſober, ſaving, man muſt ſubmit, and be *content* to be in the *claſs* of his *betters*.

From this ſource of proſtitution I fear many a worthy man takes to his arms a tainted and vicious wife, and finds in her a melancholy reaſon both for himſelf and his poſterity to curſe and deteſt maſquerades, and all thoſe that encouraged them. I was in hopes they were at an end. I heard that the threatre in the *Hay-Market* was to be uſed intirely another way, and that our underſtandings were only to be affronted this winter in that place with *Italian* quavers and *Cremona* fiddles; for which I was not ſorry, ſince the leaving of debauchery, for the ſake of nonſenſe, is ſtill ſome degree of reformation. Let us make much of it — Though I would fain hope it is not the only one we are like to ſee.

Some weak people would inſinuate, as if thoſe in high place promoted theſe infamous amuſements as a means to divert buſy heads from diving into their actions — But this muſt be a malicious and ſenſeleſs ſlander, ſince all the

the meaſures of theſe gentlemen are ſo clear and honourable that they themſelves need fear no ſcrutiny.

Having neither wife nor daughter of my own, I am anxious only for the eaſe and reputation of thoſe that have. So that I have no motive but the love of public virtue to ſay what I have ſaid upon this theme.

I could wiſh that thoſe reverend gentlemen, whoſe buſineſs and duty it more properly is, to expoſe this ſcene of iniquity, had prevented me. If our *Lent* preachers have omitted it, I can aſcribe it to nothing but forgetfulneſs, or *their good breeding*. And yet where is there a more neceſſary, where a more affecting ſubject? Here, O ye biſhops, prieſts and deacons, ſhew the *zeal* with which you abound; here ſhew *danger*, not to the church indeed, but *danger* to virtue, *danger* to Chriſtianity! Here alarm your people's ears, here rouſe their paſſions; and ceaſe combating *harmleſs notions* and *dry ideas*, till you have utterly defeated glaring vice and exorbitant debauchery.

Our whig is an irreconcileable enemy to the ſelling of places, or conferring them partially. *To be given to the worthieſt*, is the public voice upon this occaſion. They are the national

rewards for well deſerving, or a capacity of deſerving well; and it is evident injuſtice, and a kind of robbery, to diſpoſe of them upon other motives. If the candidate has merit, the tacit conſent of the people is already on his ſide; and why ſhould he give money for that which is his due? If he has not merit, why ſhould he have the recompence of it? *Freely you have received, freely give*, is a precept which has reaſon as well as inſpiration to recommend and enforce it.

Moſt or all of the great places are given gratis to thoſe who, as to their fortunes, do not want them, and no cauſe can be aſſigned but avarice and want of human compaſſion why any of the ſmall ones ſhould be ſold, when they are ſought for the moſt part as the means of life and ſubſiſtance.

He that can bargain away a little poſt, would from the ſame vile principle diſpoſe of a great kingdom upon valuable conſiderations; and ſooner, as the price muſt be greater, and conſequently the motives ſtronger.

Every guilt of this kind, when detected, ſhould be branded with incapacity and a public mark of infamy. It is making traffic of one's country: It is plundering worth of its birthright; and it has a degree of malignity

and

and vileneſs in it, which ought to be narrowly watched and ſeverely puniſhed. It is true this villany cannot be always detected openly; but by obſerving mens circumſtances we may gueſs whether they ſpend or lay up more than their honeſt income; and, if they do, we may take them for criminals, and either oblige them to account for theſe exceedings, or diſable them from hurting us any more in the ſame ſtation.

In king *Charles* the ſecond's time, a *French* woman or two, and a tribe of other hungry courtiers who came with him from beyond ſea, did by the connivance of the miniſtry, and in confederacy with them, make a fair penny of the birthright of *Britons*. The parliament of that time, who ſhould have been the guardians and watchmen of the public, were themſelves engaged in a trade of corruption, and ſpoke, or held their tongues, as they were paid. In that long parliament there was a majority of penſioners, who overlooked theſe dark dealings, and many more, particularly that of the arbitrary increaſe of the prince's guards, which was the firſt approach towards a ſtanding army. Theſe guards have never been reduced ſince. This ſhews the dreadful danger of precedents.

But neither ought places to be beſtowed out of private and perſonal regards. I have heard of the time, when a mean obſcure Jacobite was put into a fine poſt for life, purely for a piece of work which deſerved no more than an attorney's fee. Beſides, the public had no concern in it. When, at the ſame time, very many deſerving whigs remained unprovided for, and even neglected, though they had done their country more ſervice than ſome who had much better luck.

There were a ſort of men amongſt us many years ſince, who, being of great conſequence to themſelves, had adopted the craft of churchmen, and very ſolemnly aſſured us that the nation was always in eminent danger, when they were not in place. But as ſoon as the ſteerage was committed to them, and they were got into a way of thriving, all was ſafe, and yet nothing altered. It was of no moment how other poſts were conferred, provided *they* enjoyed the *greateſt*, and the power of giving the ſmalleſt. If a pretender was worth money, or had done a *private* job, no matter for his parts and principles; *worthleſsneſs* and *Jacobitiſm* were no bars to preferment; nay, the *tories* were invited to accept of very good places and welcome, provided they aimed not at the *higheſt of all*.

all. But, for the whigs of the private and inferior claſs, they were at liberty to do what good they pleaſed to their country and to mankind, without the leaſt pretenſions to the friendſhip of the *great:* On the contrary, they were told they very arrogantly diſobliged them, and marred their ſchemes by their officious behaviour.

I am perſuaded it is otherwiſe now, and that in due time we ſhall ſee the *biſhop of Bangor** preferred ſuitably to his great merit. I hope it is not inconſiſtent with any ſchemes. I am ſure the intereſts of truth and liberty are nearly concerned in it. For my part, I ſhould not wonder if both houſes of parliament addreſſed his majeſty to give his lordſhip the beſt biſhopric in *England*, as he is the beſt defender of the liberties of *England*.

I hope it is not true what I am told, namely, That the biſhop has not only met with hard uſage and diſappointment, but even hard names, from ſome people, for his keeping up a ſpirit which hindered the adoption of ſome true ſons of the church into certain ſchemes.

Let me alone and I will let you alone, is no longer the language of children at play. A much wiſer ſort of people have taken it up, and it appears to be the firſt article of a certain *Bar-*

* Dr. *Hoadly*.

gain, which all laſt winter we were put in hopes of.

If ſuch people could have their will, the ſeminaries and their miſſionaries might go on to ſcatter their poiſon, and level their doctrines againſt the fundamental ſecurity of this nation; to ſtrike at the root of our peace; to over-bear the moſt glaring truths with bold and dangerous falſhoods, and to have it in their power to make us miſerable bondmen, whenever they have a fair opportunity. Then not a ſtroke muſt be ſtruck that may diſpleaſe or diſappoint them; not a corruption be removed that they are fond of; not a clergyman rewarded, nor any body elſe, who has writ in defence of liberty, and made them angry.

But Almighty God has been ſo merciful to this poor nation, as to bleſs us with a miniſtry, who, ſcorning all mean tranſactions, will alſo ſcorn to enter into any meaſures of union and confederacy with the high clergy, till the whole body of them have given us *demonſtrative proofs* of their attachment to our *preſent ſettlement* and *civil rights*; but will, on the contrary, enable the diſſenters, in the mean time, to defend us and themſelves againſt any future attempts to diſturb and enſlave us.

While his majeſty reigns, let him have what counſellors he will, our liberties will be

be ſecure. His very perſon and countenance ſhew him to be a virtuous, wiſe, and beneficent prince, and every action of his life confirms it. But will he live for ever? And can we forget our many ſtruggles with the high clergy for the preſervation of our liberty? Are not theſe men, whom we ſet up and maintain, for ever endeavouring to pull us down, and to make a prey of our property, and ſlaves of our perſons? Do they not claim our lands for their poſſeſſions, and us for their vaſſals? Have we not been forced to wage war with our own mercenaries?

May we not therefore expect, during his majeſty's reign, ſecurity againſt the time to come? Have we not been promiſed it: And will any body dare to affirm that he refuſes it? No, no. I wiſh others were as ready to aſk as he will be to comply. His firſt and chief care, the nation's happineſs, is concerned in it; and the nation's principal care, the ſecurity of his perſon and family, is alſo concerned in it: And they who oppoſe or neglect it, oppoſe and neglect both.

The diſſenters have undeniably proved themſelves excellent ſubjects and *Engliſhmen*; and it will always be their intereſt to do ſo, while they have that protection and encouragement,

which God, and nature, and our conſtitution allow them. They aim at no independent power. They have no pretenſions upon the lands and liberties of *England.* They have to a man kept their oaths to the government, and oppoſed the rebellion.* They are a ſober and induſtrious people, and promoters of morality and trade, two great props of liberty. And the higheſt objection againſt them is, That they will not kneel down to a prieſt, nor worſhip a piece of crape. Yet they ſtill ſtand where they did, and are like to ſtand; for it ſeems there are many aſſeverations and oaths gone forth againſt them, *That the diſſenters ſhall riſe no higher.*

It is fit the diſſenters ſhould know that they deſerve, in every reſpect, the beſt uſage the nation can give them; and the honeſt part of the nation, to do it juſtice, is not to blame if they want it.

Every government ſtands by confiding in thoſe that love it. The preſent miniſtry owe their being ſo to their principles of liberty, and their adherence to the ſucceſſion. And is it not equally reaſonable that the diſſenters, who have the ſame plea, ſhould poſſeſs in a proper degree the ſame favour? And yet have they any other reward than two or three meer negatives?

* The rebellion 1715.

negatives? They contributed largely to ſave the nation, and *therefore they are not perſecuted.* Exceeding kind and bountiful!

Their zeal and induſtry, to ſay nothing of their expences, in chuſing proteſtant members for the preſent parliament, will, I do not doubt, be powerful motives with grateful men to relieve theſe their friends and benefactors from the fetters of teſts which were intended againſt papiſts. And the remarkable ſpirit and alacrity which they ſhewed in quelling the late rebellion, though at the danger of penalties and proſecutions, was likewiſe a loud demand upon thoſe who could take their thoughts off themſelves, and turn them to the public intereſt, to diſtinguiſh with qualifications and rewards ſuch a numerous body of well affected men.

That ſuch a public-ſpirited deſign could not have been carried through, will hardly be believed. Projects of a very different and inferior nature have been attended with ſurprizing ſucceſs. And not one bill, or ſcheme, that had the leaſt face of public good, has miſcarried. No; we have been triumphant in our undertakings in the houſe of commons: Inſomuch that it is hard to determine which is more remarkable, the zeal of that houſe for the

eaſe

eaſe and intereſt of the public, or its commendable faith in the miniſtry.

A certain project indeed was very juſtly, and very fortunately for *Great Britain*, received by all *diſintereſted perſons* with a general abhorrence. What muſt ſome men have done, when nothing can ſcreen them but the altering and overturning of foundations?

But to return, and put the behaviour of high church in balance with that of the diſſenters. The corrupt clergy were through all *England* puſhing at our ſettlement with all their might and malice. Some of them indeed were wary and ſilent, but their good-will was never the leſs. So true is it, that *they who are not for us, are againſt us.* Even in their neutrality they were forſworn. Thus the ambaſſadors of peace and truth, and the great advocates for non-reſiſtance, became the trumpeters of war, and the patrons of perjury and rebellion.

If the diſſenters knew what bargains are driven, and with what contempt they are ſpoken of, and what a mortal antipathy there is in ſome people againſt giving them any ſubſtantial advantages, they would not be ſo very free in drinking certain healths, which are now, for good cauſes, omitted by their trueſt patrons in

town.

town. But I am told they themſelves begin to be pretty well cured of their wonted fondneſs that way. God knows, they have ſufficient reaſon. Mr. *Walpole* was once their great favourite: They ſee how he ſerved them. Have they found others much kinder? I wiſh that even their profeſſed *plenipo's*, who loſe nothing by being at the head of their affairs, do not now and then drop their zeal for *ſeparation*, in conſideration of a *bank* bill, or a pretty income. It is certain they go every length; whether conſiſtently with their commiſſion, let their principals judge.

There has been lately a motion made in the *Iriſh* parliament, in favour of proteſtant diſſenters of that kingdom. I will not ſuppoſe they are beholden for this favour to the author of the letter to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but of this I dare be poſitive, That if ſome people have half as much zeal for paſſing ſuch a bill in *Ireland*, as they had, and, I am told, ſtill have, for paſſing another in *England*, it will not hereafter miſcarry.

P. S. In the ſecond part of this character will be conſidered the affair of a northern war.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS

Offered upon the Approaching

PEACE,

And upon the Importance of

GIBRALTAR,

TO THE

BRITISH EMPIRE,

BEING THE

Second Part of the INDEPENDENT WHIG.

First Printed in the YEAR 1720.

PREFACE.*

THE former part of the Independent Whig *appeared abroad about the time the peerage bill made its exit in the houſe of commons: What were the ſecret motives for that bill, or what hopeful ends were to have been ſerved by it, I do not pretend to explain, nor indeed, for the eaſe of my own mind, do I care to gueſs; becauſe it is a caſe of conſcience with me, and a ſtanding maxim, to ſpeak no ill of the deceaſed: I ſhall therefore only ſay with Mr.* Dryden, De mortuis nil niſi bonum; Peace be with the *manes* of the bill.

I

* One deſign of this collection, and the principal deſign at firſt, being to ſave from oblivion Mr. *Gordon*'s tracts; this tract was inſerted in the two former editions, and for that reaſon is here alſo inſerted, although it has no relation to the ſubject of theſe volumes.

I am willing to think there was no intention to engage us in a northern war, in order to ſerve purpoſes directly in the teeth of the act of ſettlement of the crown; or, if there was any ſuch, I am perſuaded it is now laid aſide, and therefore I have alſo laid aſide my purpoſe of conſidering the conſequence of ſuch a war, as I promiſed in my laſt.

The age of killing monſters is long ſince paſt and gone, and there lives now neither a Hercules *nor a* Theſeus, *to ſubdue* Hydra's *and dragons; and I ſhould be ſorry to ſee my countrymen revive thoſe ages of knight errantry, and arrive to ſuch a degree of* Quixotiſm, *as to range over the world in queſt of adventures, and to become the righters of wrongs, and redreſſers of injuries, through the whole univerſe.*

It would indeed be a greater piece of romantic gallantry, than any of thoſe fabulous heroes ever undertook, for a nation living at ſo great a diſtance, to throw away an advantageous trade, and engage in an impracticable war, againſt a power

guarded

guarded two thirds of the year with ice and ſnow, fortified with impregnable towns, which will be covered with numerous armies, and noways to be attacked but with troops marching from diſtant countries, without magazines, without forage, and without pay, unleſs WE ſupply them; and this too without any proſpect of advantage accruing to ourſelves, but only to ſerve the intereſts of another ſtate, and to preſerve a country of no concern to us; the whole value of which, if every foot of ground in it was to be ſold, would probably not pay the charge and loſſes of one year's war.

As this is too wild a thought to enter into the mind of any Engliſhman, *ſo I conceive it unneceſſary at preſent to ſay any more of it; and therefore I have in this ſecond part conſidered a queſtion which is more the object of our preſent hopes and fears,* viz. *What would be the conſequence of delivering up* Gibraltar *upon any conſideration whatſoever?*

I deſign to continue this paper weekly, in a half-ſheet, which will firſt appear on Wedneſday, *the 20th day of this month,*

in

in which I ſhall meddle with politics only occaſionally, my principal intention being to expoſe the malignity and danger of certain principles, which prevail too much, and, I wiſh I could not ſay, are too little diſcouraged.

I hope in this undertaking I ſhall be ſuffered to build up with the ſame impunity with which others are ſuffered to pull down.

I own there are methods, which, if practiſed, would prove much more effectual than mine, and root out that diſeaſe which I can only reſiſt. In the mean time it ſhall be my care to ſhew the neceſſity of ſome ſuch methods, by ſhewing the danger we are in, while we want them. When doctrines are avowedly ſpread, that ſtrike at the peace and liberty of mankind, it is the undoubted right, and duty of every man, to guard himſelf and others againſt them; and it is as much the duty of governors to preſerve their ſubjects from the contagion of ſuch deſtructive principles, as from force and invaſions.

The

The felicity of the people is the end of magiſtrates; and all arts and practices that leſſen that felicity, call for their correction and cure. Now I defy the wit of man to reconcile the happineſs of the world to many of our high-flying tenets; on the contrary, where-ever they prevail, I will undertake to ſhew, That the ſevereſt miſery, even brutiſh ignorance, abject ſlavery, poverty, and wickedneſs, do alſo prevail. I never looked upon an armed hoſt to be half ſo terrible as an army of aſpiring eccleſiaſtics. The former may be repulſed by ſtrength and bravery, which ſignify nothing againſt the latter, who make your own heart conſpire againſt you, by filling it with falſe terrors. Dominion is the word, ſervitude the duty, and damnation the penalty.

Till therefore our ſuperiors ſhall be at leiſure to put a final ſtop to the growth of thoſe principles that infatuate the multitude, and undermine our conſtitution, I, who am ſo unfaſhionable a man as to have more concern for the public, than conſideration for myſelf, ſtand up an advocate for the rights

of

of mankind, to expoſe thoſe claims that contradict reaſon and the goſpel, and bring contempt upon the clergy.

I confeſs this ſubject has been largely diſcuſſed by ſeveral hands, who are equal to the undertaking, and made truth triumph over falſhood. Foremoſt in the liſt (or in any other that could be made on this occaſion) ſtands the biſhop of Bangor,* *a champion for truth, and a ſore adverſary to all that have been her's. His enemies have confeſſed their impotence and defeat in their recourſe to invention and calumny; and have attacked his reaſoning, and his reputation, with equal ill fortune and malice. Notwithſtanding which, they have gone on, and ſtill go on, and neither modeſty, remorſe, ſhame, nor the reflection upon their own repeated oaths and ſubſcriptions, can deter them from ſpreading their poiſon every day, in every place, and upon every occaſion. So that they make it neceſſary to repeat the antidote, otherwiſe they will call ſilence conviction, and interpret a contempt of*

* Dr. *Hoadly.*

of them and their wild performances, to be an acknowledgment of their wild principles.

I am far from pretending to equal, much leſs mend, what his Lordſhip has done. But my deſign is to ſtart new topics, ſtrike out new tracts, and throw the ſame ſubject into new lights; in doing which, I ſhall frequently uſe a freedom, and manner of ſtile not common, perhaps not permitted to men in holy orders.

I hope to give the diſpute a new turn, and, inſtead of a long train of conſequential arguments, to reduce it to a few ſelf-evident propoſitions, which I ſhall endeavour occaſionally to embelliſh with agreeable incidents: The reverend, right reverend, or moſt reverend doctor, ſhall wear a fool's cap if he deſerves it, though it happens to be a cardinal's: Beſides, many will read a half-ſheet who will not read a volume.

In this great undertaking I hope to have aid from ſome better hands, and, as the ſubject is now pretty well underſtood, I expect, and ſhall be ready to receive any caſual

aſſiſtance that may be ſent me, reſerving to myſelf the liberty of altering (if it require alteration) and adapting it to my own deſign, of which I muſt be allowed to be the propereſt judge. Whoever therefore would correſpond with me, may direct to the Independent Whig, *at Mr.* Roberts's *the publiſher in* Warwick-lane.

As to the propagation and ſucceſs of the weekly paper abovementioned, I can do no more than beſtow upon it my chief labour and ſtudy; and, for other helps and ſupport, it muſt rely on thoſe who like it.

I hope no one will think me ſo fooliſh as to expect encouragement from thoſe who ought to give it, and, as I do not pretend to bear the charge of printing ſuch a paper myſelf, ſo the continuance of it muſt depend upon the encouragement it receives from abroad.

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

AS the diſmiſſion of Cardinal *Alberoni* from the court and councils of the king of *Spain*, and the hopes of an approaching peace, engage the thoughts and wiſhes of every man in *England*, who has any Love for his country, or laments the preſent ſtate of our debts and taxes; ſo I eſteem it not only the right, but the duty of every honeſt man, to offer to his ſuperiors ſuch conſiderations as he conceives may render the peace advantageous, and make us ſome recompence for the profuſion of wealth it has coſt the nation, at a time too when we were loaded with ſo many Millions of debt.

It will be a ſervice alſo to the preſent miniſtry, by wiping off any malicious charge, if any ſuch there be, of their having run into an unadviſed and fooliſh war. If the war was neceſſary (without which it is inexcuſable, notwithſtanding the great and ſurprizing ſucceſs which we have had in it) no doubt the conditions of peace will be ſuitable, and demon-

ſtrate, that, without a war, we could not have had them. What we gain by the peace will juſtify the expences of the war; and we ſhall have new advantages of trade, and new fortreſſes and ſecurities to defend thoſe advantages. If we have not poſſeſſion given us of ſome ports in the *Weſt-Indies*, the iſland of *Majorca* ought at leaſt to be added, for the ſupport of *Port-Mahon*, and a competent tract of land ought to be annexed to *Gibraltar*, for the convenience and maintenance of that garriſon, as is uſual in like caſes, and ought to have been done at firſt. At preſent they have not a foot of ground about it, either for gardens or paſture, but are cooped up within their ſtone walls, and left to make the beſt of their incloſed rock.

Without ſuch conditions and ſecurities all treaties ſignify nothing, and may, and probably will be broken, as ſoon as made. Here we can expect no help from allies and guarantees, who will always emulate, and privately conſpire againſt the great naval power, and growing trade of *England*, which is the envy and terror of the world.

I would indeed be glad to know what advantages, or even performance of articles, *England* has ever received from her good allies?

It

It is true they have often done us the favour to accept of our help, when they wanted it; and I am told, ſome of them have threatened to accept it no more, unleſs we gave it them upon their own terms. But, pray how has the favour been returned to us? What has the emperor done for us, in recompence for all we have done, and are ſtill doing for him? Unleſs in the help he gave us laſt year againſt the Pretender and his madam. Or what aſſiſtance have the *Dutch* afforded us in this expenſive, and, as we are told, neceſſary war? Have they not eat the bread of quietneſs and ſecurity, while we have been running into perils and battles for them and all *Europe?* They have lain ſtill, eaſing their country of public burthens, whilſt we have been increaſing ours; they have grown rich by the trade which we have loſt, and, it is ſaid, have even ſupplied our enemies with the materials of war to fight againſt us. And yet it is certain that they are as much (if not more) intereſted in the balance of *Europe* than we are, as they are nearer the danger, and have not ſeas to guard them. As to the balance of power in the north, they are much more concerned than we, not only as their trade thither is vaſtly greater than ours, but as they have no other

ſource of naval ſtores; whereas very little wit and honeſty would ſupply us with all we want from our own plantations. Whilſt we have been waſting our ſtrength, and our ſubſtance, and loſing our traffic, they have lain ſtill, and continue to lie ſtill, accepting, and returning compliments from, and to the courts of *Spain* and of the *Czar*, and are juſt ready to receive all the advantages of the *Ruſſian* trade (which at the revolution they were in full poſſeſſion of) whenever we ſhall be mad or fooliſh enough to throw it away. And what aſſiſtance theſe our kind allies gave us in the firſt rebellion againſt his preſent majeſty, and in the late terrible *Spaniſh* invaſion, we ſhall be better informed, when the accounts relating to that affair are fully ſtated and balanced.

Sure we ſhall not be always the *cullies* of *Britain!* Our allies muſt and will make us ſome amends at laſt, for all we have done for them; and they have now an opportunity of doing it by getting for us ſome of thoſe advantages which they have received from our friendſhip.

It was an old obſervation of *Philip de Comines*, concerning us *Engliſhmen*, That *we have ever loſt by our heads what we have gained by our hands, and have always given up by treaty what we had won by the ſword.* The reaſon which he

he gives for this is a very good one. He ſays, *That all our great men were in penſion to the Kings of* France. Monſieur *de Witt* does perhaps mean ſomething like this, when he ſays, That *our court has been always the moſt thieviſh court in* Europe. However, I do not find but that whatever bargains our miniſters made for, or rather of, their country, they generally made very good ones themſelves, at leaſt to the beſt of their ſkill. *Dunkirk* was not delivered for nothing, nor, I dare ſay, the laſt peace made without the contrivers finding their own account in it, whatever their country ſuffered.

But theſe things are paſſed and gone, and God has now ſent us a miniſtry who will mend all thoſe faults which they were the firſt to condemn. The intereſt of the public is their intereſt. They have no ſecret purpoſes to ſerve by dark and ſhameful treaties. They have no new revolutions to bring about, nor can they diſguſt their own party, by acting freely and boldly for the good of their country, which is not the caſe of the heads of another party. In fine, they have no deſperate game to play, to defend them from the effects of deſperate meaſures, nor have they, like the others, been trepanned and outwitted by *France*,

nor have ungenerous advantages been taken of their credulity, when they had engaged themſelves and their country beyond retreat.

We may therefore well expect that our preſent peace-makers will, by the advantages which they procure for us, reproach the neglect, ignorance, and treachery of the laſt. There is nothing that the moſt ſanguine imagination can form, which we may not hope at the enſuing treaty, from the ſingular part which we have taken in this war. We ſtruck the firſt blow, and have ever ſince purſued it with great ardor and expence. We have beaten and deſtroyed the enemies fleets, inſomuch that the poor remains of their great naval ſtrength can, at preſent, do no more than ſkulk in their ports, and hide themſelves in corners. We have procured noble advantages, and even kingdoms to our allies. Add to this, that we entered ſingle into the ſtrife and the danger. The regent indeed moved to our aid a good while after, and the *Dutch* not at all, though, as has been before obſerved, more than equally engaged by all the ties and motives which could engage us, at leaſt by all thoſe which we have yet avowed.

How abſurd therefore is it for any one to ſurmiſe or fear, that we ſhould receive the conditions

ditions which we ought to give, purchaſe a reconciliation at the price of all our victories, and buy a peace, when we may command it?

It is an undeniable inſtance of the innocence of our great men, and of our great contempt of the poor efforts of their enemies malice, that they took not the leaſt notice of a pamphlet publiſhed laſt year with a pompous title; it was called, *The king of* France's *declaration of war*, &c. which directly undertakes, in pages the 29th and 34th, to procure from the king of *England* the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar* to *Spain*.

They knew very well that ſo wild a calumny could make no impreſſion upon any judicious man, and they laughed at the ſimplicity and malice of others, and gave them leave to play with their own folly: they knew very well that a fortreſs conquered by the fleets and armies, by the blood and treaſure of *England*, and ſolemnly yielded up by treaty made with *England*, became part of the *Engliſh* dominions, and ſubject to the legiſlative power of *England*, and could not be diſannexed but by act of parliament; and conſequently, any agreement to deliver up ſuch a fort to an enemy, is high treaſon within the ſtatute of the 25th of *Edward* the Third; and to

give it to any one elſe; is one of thoſe high treaſons reſerved by that act for the judgment of parliament.

They knew too that no pocket agreement is of any force in *England*; that we are bound by no treaties but what are ſolemnly entered upon record; and every one might ſatisfy himſelf that there was no ſuch there.

However, as the bare mentioning of ſuch a thing, though without the leaſt ground, has thunderſtruck many honeſt, though timorous men, I ſhall endeavour to undeceive them, by ſhewing, it is impoſſible that any virtuous and wiſe miniſtry, as we all know ours are, can ever hereafter fall into any meaſures ſo fatal to their country; and this I ſhall do, by ſhewing the advantage and importance of that port to the ſovereignty of the ſeas.

The town of *Gibraltar* is built upon a rock which reaches a league into the ſea, and was formerly called one of the *pillars*, or the *ne plus ultra* of *Hercules*. It is joined to *Spain* by a ſmall neck of land, which, being narrow and plain, may be eaſily cut through and ſeparated from the continent, ſo as to form the whole into an iſland; and it is undoubtedly true, that a mole may be made at a moderate expence, capable of holding thirty large men of war.

It lies within a few leagues of *Tangier*, in *Africa*, and commands the mouth of the *ſtreights*. It ſees all ſhips that ſail from the *Mediterranean* to the ocean, and from the ocean thither, and conſequently makes it impracticable for any other nation to trade there without our leave, but by the protection of ſuch fleets and convoys as will make any trade unprofitable; at the ſame time it protects our own traffic, and furniſhes ſtorehouſes either for war or commerce, and a convenient place of refreſhment to our ſhips in their voyages to and from *Africa*, *Italy*, the *Levant*, and ſometimes the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*.

It gives us the means of carrying on a private and advantageous commerce with *Spain*, notwithſtanding all the prohibitions they can make, or precautions they can uſe. It lies at hand to intercept their *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* fleets with the ſpoil and riches of both worlds: it ſeparates and divides *Spain* from itſelf, and hinders all communication by ſea from the different parts of their dominions, and conſequently muſt keep them in a perpetual dependance, and put them under a neceſſity to court our friendſhip, as well as fear our enmity: it gives us an opportunity to pry into all their meaſures, obſerve all their motions, and, without the moſt ſtupid remiſſneſs on our parts, renders it impracticable for

them to form any projects, or carry on any expeditions againſt us or our allies without our having due notice.

It deſtroys any attempts to naval power in *France*, which can never be formidable at ſea, whilſt *Gibraltar* remains in our hands. It hinders the communication between their ports and ſquadrons in the ocean and the *Mediterranean:* it makes it impoſſible for them to ſupply their Southern harbours with naval ſtores either for building or repairing of fleets; of which they were ſo ſenſible laſt war, that, as ſoon as Sir *George Rook* had poſſeſſed himſelf of it, they ſaw themſelves under a neceſſity to lay aſide their uſual caution, and dare him in open battle, and not meeting the ſucceſs they hoped for, the very ſame year, to the unſpeakable prejudice of their other affairs, beſieged it in form, and loſt a *French* and *Spaniſh* army before it, and never afterwards appeared with a fleet upon the ſeas again during the whole war, but ſuffered their great ſhips to moulder and rot in their harbours, for want of the means to fit them out again.

It will give us reputation and figure in thoſe ſeas, which are always rewarded with power and riches. It will oblige all nations who trade in the *Mediterranean*, or have empire there,

there, to court our friendſhip, and keep meaſures with us. It will awe even the courts of *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, and make them afraid to diſturb or provoke us. It will intimidate the piratical ſtates, who, when they ſee vengeance ſo near at hand, will not dare to diſturb *our* trade, whilſt they are deſtroying that of all others. Theſe advantages are immenſe, and will give us all the carriage trade of the *Mediteranean*, whoſe merchants muſt make uſe of our ſhips, when they find it not ſafe to venture in any other.

But we are told, the keeping it is a great charge to us. Strange and ſurpriſing inſtance of our *new* frugality, and good huſbandry! That we, who for thirty years together have rioted in millions, and, untill heaven bleſſed us with the preſent miniſtry, never minded what we gave, nor to whom; we, who drained the *Exchequer*, and mortgaged the nation, ſhould now, from a principle of ſaving, ſacrifice the ſole fruit of all our expences to prevent a charge, which is but equal to that of a few uſeleſs penſions! Thank heaven, from laviſhing millions, we are grown thrifty in pounds, ſhillings and pence.

But

But how comes it to paſs that this was not thought on before? We have been at a prodigious expence in ſupplying it with garriſons, with military ſtores, with proviſions, and in defending it againſt a vigorous ſiege: all which might have been ſaved, and without doubt very many advantages, and a round ſum (beſides the contractors licking their own fingers) might have been ſtipulated for the nation, if the leaſt hint had been given that it was to be diſpoſed of.

However, I own good huſbandry never comes too late, and I hope it will go a little further, and that we ſhall contract the public expences of all kinds, cut off and retrench unneceſſary offices, ſalaries and penſions, pay off, or leſſen the public engagements, and reſcue the people from the oppreſſions of their rigorous debts and payments, which have near exhauſted the vitals of the nation, and, without a ſpeedy remedy, will ſoon bring it into an incurable conſumption.

It is alledged that *Port-Mahon* will anſwer all the purpoſes of *Gibraltar*, and therefore there can be no uſe in keeping them both. The contrary to which muſt be evident to any one who but looks into the map; for the iſland *Minorca* lies many hundred miles further up towards the gulf

gulf of *Lyons*, and, in truth, out of the road of all ſhips trading to *Sicily*, the *Adriatic*, the *Levant*, or *Africa*. It is ſituated at ſuch a diſtance from *France* and *Spain*, that the greateſt fleets can eſcape unobſerved, unleſs we keep perpetually before their ports to watch and purſue them, which is exceeding dangerous, if not impracticable in thoſe ſeas. We ſhall be out of the way of all intelligence, and, if we ſhould by chance have it, in all likelihood ſhall be too late to take advantage of it; beſides, I am told, there are but few winds with which ſhips can get in or out of *Port-Mahon*, and, when they are once there, the paſſage is ſo narrow that a very ſmall ſquadron can keep the greateſt from ſailing out.

But I think nothing is plainer, than that it will be exceeding difficult, if not impoſſible, to keep the iſland of *Minorca*, without the poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*, at leaſt it will be more expenſive to us than both are now; eſpecially if *France* and *Spain* ſhould join again; which event, I think, we ought to keep always in view, for then *Gibraltar* will be the only reſource we have to carry on any trade in the *Mediterranean*, and to prevent the union of the *French* and *Spaniſh* fleets with themſelves or each other.

All

All the objections (and many more) which I have before made, againſt the facility of a communication of the different ports of *France* and *Spain* with one another, will be ſtronger againſt us; for they have others near to *Gibraltar*, where fleets may lie ſafe, and have a chance to eſcape us, by catching at favourable opportunities, and the advantage of winds; whereas we muſt run all hazards, and truſt to our ſtrength alone, without any harbour to retreat to, in caſe of ſtorms or other accidents.

What means have we of ſending naval ſtores and recruits to our garriſons, and often proviſions for them, without a port to protect us during a thouſand leagues ſailing? *Portugal* will not be ſuffered to receive or relieve us, and then we muſt run the gantlet by ſingle ſhips, with ſcarce a chance to eſcape, or ſend convoys upon the ſmalleſt occaſions, capable of fighting the united *French* and *Spaniſh* power; which will be attended with ſuch difficulties as muſt be allowed unanſwerable arguments in the mouths of a corrupt miniſtry to ſell that too, when a fair chapman appears.

But it is not only my own opinion, but that of much better judges, that theſe two important poſts might be kept with little charge to *England*, even without balancing the

the advantages we receive by them: Methinks it ſhould be worth the thoughts and leiſure of a *Britiſh* parliament to aſk a few queſtions concerning them, *(viz.)* Upon what foundation they ſtand? What becomes of their revenues? Whether applied to the benefit of their governors, or to the public? What protection the people there meet with, and what civil government is eſtabliſhed amongſt them, and how the military interferes with it? I doubt not but theſe queſtions will be anſwered to ſatisfaction: and the directors of our affairs, when the public occaſions will give them leave to open their ſchemes, have propoſals ready to lay before our repreſentatives, which will make thoſe towns, and the iſland belonging to one of them, as uſeful to the public as they have been hitherto to their governors, and ſome others. I am perſuaded, if they were made free ports, where all nations might find encouragement and ſecurity, they would ſoon grow ſo rich and powerful, as in a great meaſure to pay for their own protection. *Gibraltar* lies much more fortunately for trade than *Leghorn*, which ſtands out of the way, and in a corner; and yet, I am told, the ſingle advantage of a free port renders that town one of the greateſt articles in the grand duke's revenue.

This is the circumſtance, theſe the advantages of our keeping the poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*.

Our

Our enemies, and our allies too, know them, and, I doubt, dread them; and, I thank God, the nation knows them; and that we could have had no tolerable ſucceſs in the laſt or preſent war without this town; therefore I cannot ſuſpect that ſo wiſe and honeſt a miniſtry will take any ſuch ſtep without the advice of parliament.

We ought not to be ſurprized if the nations of *Europe* and *Africa* ſhould wiſh it in hands leſs potent at ſea, and who would conſequently enjoy it more harmleſly to its neighbours: it muſt be undoubtedly terrible to any people who would be our rivals in trade or naval power, or indeed to any ſtate that aſpires to empire, which can never be accompliſhed without fleets as well as armies.

But ſure we are not fallen into ſuch contempt with our enemies, our neighbours, or our allies, nor can they have ſo mean an opinion of our ſenſe and diſcernment, and the integrity of our ſtateſmen, as but to hint ſuch a thing to them.

If we part with *Gibraltar*, to what purpoſe have we made war? To what purpoſe beſtowed great ſums, and gained great victories? Have we beat the enemy, and forced them to beg peace, and yet muſt bribe them to accept of it? Have we conquered, and ſhall they give terms,

and

and get towns by loſing battles? Or, if we do not part with *Gibraltar* for the ſake of peace, pray what conſideration are we to receive for the ſake of *Gibraltar?* Sure we do not make war only for our allies, and leave our allies to make peace for us; and peace and war are not both made at our coſts and charges.

We have given no jealouſy or offence to our allies, in applying any part of our force to the *Weſt Indies*, or in ſeizing and planting countries there, as the *French* have done, but have acted a faithful, expenſive, and hazardous part for our allies; and, while our ſhips of war have been employed for them, our merchant ſhips have fallen by ſcores into the hands of pirates, for want of ſufficient convoys. Our whole *Guiney* trade has been loſt this year by that means, there being, as I am told, not one man of war to ſpare, from the ſervice of the confederates, to defend it. Our trade, in every other branch of it, ſuffers not a little from this fidelity of ours to our foreign friends. I ſay nothing of the preſent ſtate of our manufactures, and of our poor: it is too mournful and too manifeſt.

Has any *Engliſh* miniſtry ever preſumed to propoſe to the King, to deliver up the dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, in order to procure a peace in the North, to ſettle the ſo much

deſired

deſired balance of power there, and to prevent the charge to *England* of ſending out annual fleets at a very great expence? And yet, it is ſaid, his majeſty, before the laſt treaty with *Sweden*, pretended no title to thoſe countries, but a mortgage from a prince, who had no other himſelf than conqueſt. And dares any one propoſe to a *Britiſh* King the delivering up, to a baffled and ſubdued enemy, the moſt important place in the world to the trade and naval empire of *England*, the key of the *Mediterranean*, the terror of our enemies, and the beſt pledge of our near friendſhips; and this too after we have an undoubted title to it, to which thoſe nations are guarantees, who have the greateſt intereſt to wreſt it out of our hands?

But to whom ſhall this great and moſt important conceſſion be made? Not to a provoked, vanquiſhed, and inveterate enemy, to enable him to revenge the affronts he has received: It cannot be in compliment to the emperor, for whom we are conquering kingdoms and provinces; nor to the *Dutch*, who would not move to our aſſiſtance, but have laid ſtill, taking advantage of our misfortunes, and enjoying the fruits of our labour and expences: much leſs can we ſuppoſe it ſhould be done in favour of *France*.

I confeſs there are many reaſons why they ſhould deſire it; but they are unanſwerable reaſons too why we ſhould hear ſuch a propoſition with horror. Every true *Engliſhman* muſt tremble at the growing power of *France*, to ſee it, like the *phœnix*, riſe young, freſh, and vigorous, out of its own aſhes: It is as terrible as amazing, to behold a deſpotic government in a few months poſſeſſed of the greateſt credit which ever appeared in the world, and to clear itſelf of an hundred millions of debt, without paying one penny; and this done too, not by an act of power, but by the conſent and applauſe of the whole kingdom. New fleets are building, new armies raiſing, new countries planting, new provinces conquering, whilſt we have been loading the public with new debts, new ſalaries, new penſions, and no method as yet propoſed (I will not ſay thought of) to eaſe our burthens.

Sure theſe cannot be reaſons to take ſuch a thorn out of the foot of *France*, and to remove ſuch an obſtacle to their greatneſs: The enterprizing genius of that nation is as well known, as it is formidable to all its neighbours, but in particular to us. I would aſk, in caſe of a new rupture, what reſource we have but in our fleets, and, by the help of *Gibraltar*, to make it impracticable for their

ſqua-

ſquadrons in the ocean and *Mediterranean* to join? We know, by woful experience, what help we are to expect from our allies, when we have no more millions to give. We are not able to keep great ſtanding armies at home, nor is it conſiſtent with our liberty to do ſo; and therefore we ought to take every meaſure to increaſe our naval ſtrength, and to put new bridles upon thoſe who are, or may ſoon be our rivals.

The nation in the world whoſe power we have moſt reaſon to guard againſt, is that of *France*, and yet I do not know by what fatality it has often ſo happened that we have been the unhappy inſtruments of promoting it. *Oliver Cromwel* gave the firſt riſe to its greatneſs at land, and king *Charles* the Second at ſea: The late *Queen*¶, whoſe heart was intirely *Engliſh*, by an ignominious peace, reſtored it, when it was reduced to the loweſt extremity, and muſt have ſubmitted to any conditions ſhe had thought fit to impoſe. But ſure it will never be ſaid that a whig miniſtry, the patrons of liberty, the conſtant and declared enemies of thoſe proceedings, ſhould act ſo far in defiance of all their known principles, as voluntarily and unconſtrained, in the midſt of our victories, to throw away any part of that national ſecurity, which even the

¶ Queen ANNE.

the late betrayers purchaſed at the expence of their country's honour (and, I doubt was no otherwiſe to be had) and which are the only rewards and recompence of a tedious, ſucceſsful, and glorious war, carried on at an immenſe expence of blood and treaſure, of which we and our poſterity ſhall long feel the ſevere effects.

REMARKS

REMARKS
ON TWO
CHARGES,
DELIVERED
By Dr. SMALLBROKE, Lord Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, to the Clergy of his Dioceſe.

WHEREIN

The DANGER of the CHURCH, from the Progreſs of Liberty, and its INDEPENDENCE upon Civil Government are conſidered.

In a LETTER to his LORDSHIP.

By a Friend to TRUTH and LIBERTY.

Illi qui modo præſunt in Eccleſiis, plurimum ſunt Fures & Latrones, plus Exactores quam Paſtores, plus Spoliatores quam Tutores, plus Mactatores quam Cuſtodes, plus Perverſores quam Doctores, plus Seductores quam Ductores; iſti ſunt Nuntii Antichriſti, Subverſores Ovium Chriſti. ALBERT in *Johan.*

Rara Temporum Felicitas, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere licet. TACIT.

From the SECOND EDITION, printed in the year 1740.

* REMARKS on two CHARGES, &c.

My LORD,

HAVING lately met with, where I leaſt expected any thing of ſuch a nature, ſome *fragments* of two *charges*, delivered by your Lordſhip to the clergy of your dioceſe, my curioſity led me to enquire after and peruſe the performances throughout. Your Lordſhip's known ſkill and zeal in all the branches of *church-heral-*

 dry

* The following is an exact copy of a letter written by Dr. *Smallbroke*, Lord Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, to the Parſon of *Stone* in *Staffordſhire*, as it was taken from the original by Mr. *Owen*, the author of theſe *remarks*.

REV. SIR, Dean's-yard, Weſtminſter, April 1, 1738.

I hope you have received by my ſervant a pamphlet wrote by way of anſwer to a moſt ſcurrilous libel wrote by one Mr. Owen, *not only againſt myſelf, but likewiſe all the biſhops and clergy and eſtabliſhed church. He is a diſſenting miniſter of* Bridgnorth *in* Shropſhire; *but being turned out there lives now at* Walſall, *and aims, as I am told, to be preacher to the diſſenters at your pariſh of* Stone. *I deſire thereupon you will apprize the diſſenters in your pariſh and round about of the true character of the ſaid Mr.* Owen; *and that for ſuch reaſons you will hinder, as far as you can, the ſaid gentleman from*

ſettling

dry and *power*, your profound erudition, and exact knowledge of all the fables of the *ancients* concerning *hobgoblins* and *fairies*; of their whims, allegorical reveries, and caballiſtical dreams and viſions, joined with a *warm* and *ſincere*, I cannot ſay *diſintereſted* concern for the eſtabliſhment of tithes and orthodoxy, very much raiſed my attention. Upon the peruſal it appears that liberty would be in as imminent danger from your *lordſhip*'s model of Chriſtianity, as you apprehend the church to be from the progreſs of liberty, and the downfall of uſurpation, tyranny, ſuperſtition, and ſpiritual bondage. Without any ſervile fear therefore, though were I to pay ſuch a ſlaviſh reſpect to any, I know none that would be *more deſerving* of it than your *lordſhip*; I ſhall examine ſome of the moſt material particulars contained in theſe charges to your clergy. Had either of them fallen ſooner

ſettling or being encouraged in your pariſh or neighbourhood. I ſhall be glad to hear from you on this occaſion, and am,

SIR,

Your faithful brother
and humble ſervant,
Richard Litchfield and Coventry.

To the Rev. Mr. *Stebbing*, Miniſter of *Stone*, in *Staffordſhire*.

Free
Richard Litchfield and Coventry.

Mr. *Owen*'s copy is in my hands,
R. Baron.

ſooner into my hands, it might have engaged earlier animadverſions.

Probably it will be urged, it is *infidelity* or worſe, to expoſtulate on any points of this nature with a biſhop of the church. It is allowed an awful deference is due to your lordſhip, and thoſe of your lordſhip's character, whoſe peculiar province is, to be *in the right*, and whoſe buſineſs, is *never to be miſtaken*. Theſe are bleſſings of an uncommon ſize, when held without the *abſurd claims* of infallibility. But ſtill as *Chriſtians* it is our *right*, as *proteſtants*, it is our *privilege*, and as *Engliſhmen*, it is our *glory*, that we dare judge for ourſelves in matters of faith and religion. When we conſider ourſelves under theſe ſeveral relations, there can be no virtue in blind-folding our underſtandings. Paſſive obedience is equally odious in *church* and *ſtate*, whether it be to the will of an *arbitrary prince*, or the dictates of a *tyrannical clergy*. I need offer no farther apology for the honeſt freedom I ſhall uſe in the following addreſs to your lordſhip.

In the introduction to your firſt charge, it is obſerved, "that * the good providence of God re-"moved you from your former dioceſe to your "native country." I ſhall not take upon me to

* Charge 1, p. 3.

enquire whether it was a good providence to your lordſhip, or to the clergy of that dioceſe you were removed from, or to both together. But, my lord, you muſt allow me to be a little ludicrous upon proper occaſions. It puts me in mind of a country clergyman, who, upon leaving the flock committed to his charge, obſerved, in your lordſhip's dialect, that the *good providence* of God had removed him.——A poor pariſh-boy took occaſion to aſk the *reverend ambaſſador*, if providence had called him to a *leſſer* benefice, or a more *advantageous* ſituation. To the *latter* be ſure, replies the man of God; ſo I concluded, ſays he, or providence might have *called* ever ſo *loud* and *long* before you would have condeſcended to have given it an *anſwer*. The lad you will admit muſt be one of *Woolſton*'s diſciples, and was ſliding toward infidelity apace. What will become of *prieſtly prerogative*, if men are ſuffered to make ſuch ſaucy and wicked reflections? but the application I leave to your *lordſhip* and the intelligent reader.

In the next page * you go on thus; "I ſhall now "proceed to another ſubject that is too *ſeaſonable* "in our preſent circumſtances to be paſt over in "ſilence; I mean, upon due conſideration of the "ſtate of our national church. I ſhall now ſhew "how we may moſt effectually, in our ſeveral ſta-

"tions,

* Charge 1. p. 4.

" tions, contribute to its ſupport, and be beſt " qualified for the defence of it, againſt the open " attacks, and dark deſigns of its adverſaries, of " whatever denomination."

What! the church in *danger*, my lord? the perfection of beauty, and the joy of the whole body of the *clergy*, in *danger* of falling? if ſo, it is reaſonable that the ſolemnities of the pulpit ſhould propagate the alarm, give authority to our fears, and that in our ſeveral ſtations we ſhould exert our joint endeavours to remove them. But whence, my lord, ariſe theſe *chimerical* repreſentations? have we not a *prince* on the throne, whoſe good inclinations, as well as *royal word*, engage him to *preſerve inviolably* the liberties of all his ſubjects? are we not happy under his auſpicious government in the *free poſſeſſion* of many valuable bleſſings? have we not perſons of great worth and integrity, that ſit at the helm, and if there are any there of a *different character*, yet they have been always true to *their principles and the times*, and as tenacious of the rights of the church, as your *lordſhip?* have not all the viſionary ſchemes of a *rival pretender* to the crown, been long ſince baffled, and his hopes blaſted for ever? are our national concerns in this happy ſituation, and yet the national church groaning under the bittereſt extremity and diſtreſſes? —— You would not have it believed

that when our rights and properties are moſt *ſecure*, when the wiſeſt laws are enacted, and thoſe laws executed without *partiality* or *corruption*; when *reaſon* triumphs over *craft* and *ſuperſtition*, your lordſhip would not have it believed, that under ſuch circumſtances the church is in the greateſt danger? Can the church never be ſafe, unleſs the *laws*, *learning* and *liberties* of the nation are brought into wreck and ruin? theſe ill-timed, or in your lordſhip's phraſe, *ſeaſonable* alarms, may fill the minds of the clergy with ſedition, and their mouths with rage and clamour: but can they ever contribute to recommend virtue, to eſtabliſh rational piety and religion?

It is obſervable that the cry of the danger of the church, has always been made uſe of more or leſs in *exact proportion* to the *progreſs* of common ſenſe, and the *declenſion* of a ſpirit of bigotry and bondage. But, my lord, ſuch reports come with an ill grace from the *friends* of the church, how entertaining ſoever they may prove to its *enemies*. The church of *Chriſt* encountered the ſevereſt difficulties, and the warmeſt oppoſition. It had not only the *magiſtracy*, but the *mob* and the *prieſthood*; the *high-church dignitaries* of the *Jewiſh* conſtitution, joined in a conſpiracy againſt it; yet the ſpiritual weapons of truth, honeſty, and diſintereſtedneſs overpowered them all. And as to future ages, we are expreſly foretold, the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it. What means this,

this, my lord! are the intereſts of the church of *Chriſt*, and the church of *England* not only *diſtinct*, but *oppoſite* in their very nature? one *always ſafe*, the other *always* in *danger*? one, proof againſt the raillery of infidels, and rage of hell: the other trembling at the efforts of a few *hot-headed enthuſiaſts* and *diſſenters*? then ſurely, according to your *lordſhip*'s ſcheme, they cannot be very near a-kin. However, I would be underſtood to ſpeak with due reverence to the *caſſock*.——Let them be one and the ſame, notwithſtanding all this, and what the prieſts have joined, let no man put aſunder.

About the time your lordſhip's firſt charge was delivered to your preſent dioceſan clergy, among others who attacked Chriſtianity with little ſincerity, and leſs ſucceſs, Mr. *Woolſton*, an *apoſtate clergyman*, was one of the moſt conſiderable, * whoſe name I preſume is not forgotten by your lordſhip. Probbaly his diſcourſes are the *poiſonous libels* you refer to, † "againſt the infection of which, pro-"per preſervatives were uſed." But what preſervatives did your lordſhip judge proper on that occaſion? were you conſcious of any *weakneſs* or *inſufficiency* in your *elaborate* and *bulky* defence of Chriſtianity, that you fled for refuge to the ſecular arm, and called to your aſſiſtance the *ſalutary aids* of a fine and a dungeon? I have been in-

* See *Woolſton*'s anſwer to the Biſhop of *St. David*, dedicated to the Queen.

† See Charge 1. p. 4.

formed, that *ludicrous* writer declared upon his trial, that our late *worthy metropolitan* expreſſed himſelf thus, with relation to that unchriſtian proſecution; for ſhould I call it perſecution, the world would never believe that *biſhops* had any hand in the matter; "Mr. *Woolſton*, I am ſorry for your ſufferings, but had you wrote ten times as much againſt *Chriſtianity*, without attacking *clerical authority* and *power*, you had been *ſafe* and *unmoleſted* ſtill."— However that be, permit me to obſerve, my lord, and with an *honeſt* concern for the honour of Chriſtianity I ſpeak it, this very conduct gave a *greater reputation* to Mr. *Woolſton*'s *ribaldry* and *diſtraction*, than it could otherwiſe have obtained; and even a greater than your *lordſhip*'s *writing* againſt him. It is natural to ſhew compaſſion for thoſe who ſuffer for any *peculiarity* in their notions, to be prejudiced in favour of their cauſe, and to expreſs a *generous indignation* at the authors and abettors of their ſufferings. Was Mr. *Woolſton* delivered over to the jailor, to be buffeted for the ſalvation of his ſoul, or the ſuppreſſion of his libels? a dungeon could never enlighten his underſtanding; and *infidelity rejoiced* in ſuch a *favourable* opportunity of ſpreading abroad the *inglorious fame* of his impriſonment and writings; not to mention, that as truth *ſtands* not in *need*, ſo it *ſcorns* ſuch *wicked* arts to ſupport its authority.

As I

As I have no concern with the *hiſtory* of the *puritans*, I ſhall take no farther notice of your remarks on that head, than what neceſſarily comports with my deſign to expoſe the *wickedneſs* and *folly* of claiming a juriſdiction over conſcience; and invading the *monarchy*, the *univerſal monarchy* of earth, as well as heaven. It is obſerved, that * the long-ago *confuted* pretenſions of the old *puritans*, are brought afreſh on the ſtage. Were not their pretenſions founded upon the ſame principle with the reformation itſelf, the *right of private judgment*, and acting according to it in matters of religion? will your *lordſhip* deny this? who then *confuted* their pretenſions? no friends to the *reformation*, to the *church* of *England*, would attempt it; and did they, I hope your *lordſhip* will agree with me in this, ſuch attempts would have been vain and fruitleſs. True, they had many *wild antic extravagances* among them; and a *gloomy idiotiſm* that uſurped the name of virtue, which ſtill prevails amongſt many of their ſucceſſors and diſciples.—They worſhipped *God* as if the *devil* was in them; but ſtill the diſtinguiſhing prineiple they ſeparated upon, was a generous zeal for and a noble attachment to the *liberties* of their country. But I forbear, to make way for the danger of the

* Charge 1. p. 5.

church.—‡ "The virulent reflections on the "two renowned Archbiſhops *Parker* and *Whitgift*, "the late attempt on the *legal maintenance* of the "*clergy* by *tithes*; thoſe latter ones on the diſci-"pline of the *eſtabliſhed church*, and the legal ju-"riſdiction of the governors of it, in concurrence "with the growth of infidelity, prophaneneſs, "and immorality.——The *numbers* of thoſe that "are *unbelievers*, or are for no *eſtabliſhment* of "Chriſtianity at all, or are *diſaffected* to the *preſent* "*eſtabliſhment* of it amongſt us; from theſe views "we cannot but have ſome *melancholy* thoughts "concerning the final iſſue and reſult of things." my lord, chear up your ſpirits, *melancholy thoughts* often iſſue in a *fixed ſettled delirium*. Witneſs the *craftſmen of Epheſus*. Their zeal for their Goddeſs, and her ſilver ſhrines, ſoon improved itſelf into a *venerable frenzy*, and a *conſecrated riot*; ſo that they knew not wherefore they came together. The men were *mad*, but ſtill they were *profoundly orthodox*, my lord.—It was not the *Goddeſs* that they worſhipped, but the very object of prieſtly adoration throughout all ſucceſſive ages.—Her *ſilver ſhrines!* but the particulars referred to, deſerve a cloſer examination. Can a faithful hiſtory of the character of one or two *renowned* ecclé-

‡ Page 5. Charge 1.

cleſiaſtics be a reproach upon their order? if ſo, what the *poet* obſerved as to *prieſts* of *all religions*, may be juſtly applicable to *prieſts of all ages*, that they are the ſame; inſpired with the *ſame luſt* of dominion and power, the *ſame thirſt* for blood, the *ſame zeal* for knavery and perſecution. — But whatever your lordſhip may think, I cannot fall in with ſo *wild* an opinion. As truth can never ſuffer by exploding *dark unſcriptural* ſyſtems, or as *phyſic* can never be brought into diſgrace by a juſt contempt of *quacks* and *empirics*; ſo neither can the church be ever hurt by an honeſt repreſentation of characters or facts that tend neither to its ſecurity or honour. "The late attempt on the legal maintenance of the clergy by tithes," likewiſe awakens your *lordſhip*'s reſentments. Suppoſing, my lord, there had been any regulations of tithes, would this have brought the church into danger? would there be no *prieſts*, no *biſhops*, were there no *tithes*, no *eſtabliſhments?* is all the *devotion* of the *clergy* bound up in theſe, my lord? it ſeems, it is the ſame as to *eccleſiaſtical* and *military ſquadrons*, and that the *proweſs* of the *church*, as well as of *armies*, depend upon *good pay* and *proviſion*; and thoſe, who are enliſted into the ſervice of both alike, may fight for *hire*, but will *deſert* their *reſpective poſts*, if there be no other reward than the proſpect of being ſerviceable to their country. But if the church be in any *danger*, there

there are ſome more probable reaſons to be aſſigned for it, than thoſe which are pointed at by your lordſhip. Is there no *danger* from *bigotry* and *ſuperſtition*; from *church-pride* and *tyranny*; from the *illegal* and *arbitrary pretenſions* of *inſolent eccleſiaſtics* ‡? is there no *danger* of its being brought into reproach from *biſhops* that never *preach*, from *divines* that *never ſtudy*, unleſs it be how to *aggrandize* themſelves, and *oppreſs* the *laity*, by their high exorbitant claims as to *eccleſiaſtical fees* and *revenues*? is there no *danger* from the rigid uncharitable *impoſition* of *forged creeds* and formularies upon the Chriſtian people? is there no *danger* from the clergy's *ſwearing* to, or at leaſt *ſubſcribing* doctrines as true, which they believe to be *falſe* and *unſcriptural*, and being guilty of *ſolemn perjury*, in the name of the lord? is the church in no *danger* from that little *aukward ſtiffneſs* and *pedantry* of behaviour; from that *fury* which wears the *maſk* of *zeal*; from that *diſaffection* to the *proteſtant* family on the throne, which your lordſhip cannot be *ignorant* of, *reigns* among a conſiderable part of the *inferior* clergy? is there no *danger* when the church has a greater ſhare in our *merriments* than in our *prayers*; when our zeal for

‡ Of what avail the abolition of Paganiſm, if we ſtill retain the worſt part of it, and have an army of Chriſtian prieſts, that delight in bloodſhed and confuſion? Ch. 1. p. 26.

ſor it grows *warm* in our cups, but *ſtagnates* in our devotions?——Theſe are ſuch reaſons for the *danger* of the church, as well deſerved your notice; and which, my lord, as a *Chriſtian biſhop* at leaſt, you had done well to conſider.—But I aſk pardon, your lordſhip's fears may ariſe from *another* quarter.

If we take a view of the reign of *King Charles* the ſecond, we ſhall find that *infidelity* and *prophaneneſs* were never ſo rampant in the land as then, from the *reformation*, down to the preſent times. Upon the *reſtoration*, the flood-gates of *Hell* and *Rome* ſeemed to be let open upon us. And yet in that *bleſſed æra*, the church was proſperous and flouriſhing; the *prieſts* pampered with luxury, and no complaints known of danger. But when *liberty* and *King William* aſcended the *Britiſh* throne, its complaints were renewed, and excepting a ſhort interval in the following reign, have been continued ever ſince.

Your *lordſhip* complains of the growth of infidelity; nor, according to the modern uſe of the phraſe, are your lordſhip's complaints needleſs! we have multitudes in this nation, and may the number *daily increaſe!* that do not always *believe*, neither *worſhip* the clergy. It has indeed been the complaint of every age. the former times were better than theſe. The cry is as *ſtale* as it is

common.

common. But do *infidelity*, *immorality*, and *prophaneneſs* grow? what can be the reaſon of this? are the *clergy*, who ought to be the *advocates* of Chriſtianity, and *guardians* of our liberties, grown more ignorant than in former times? or are they grown more *profligate* and *wicked? do their lives make atheiſts, or their doctrines ſlaves?* whatever *infidels* may pretend, your *lordſhip* will not ſuggeſt this? in the body politic, *wicked governors* and a *corrupt adminiſtration* propagate corruption among all inferior ranks of ſubjects: and is it not the ſame as to religion?— Are the times *bad?* — It is your *lordſhip*'s, and the *clergy*'s buſineſs to make them better. It is in your power to reform the world, to bring virtue into *faſhion*; and it is with an *ill grace* men complain of evils that are of their own begetting. Is it matter of fact that the number of unbelievers daily increaſes? what account is then to be given of the vigilance and conduct of a *pompous ſpiritual ſoldiery*, retained for the ſervice of the church and truth? are they not bleſſed with national honours and preferments? is not the world prejudiced on their ſide? have they not the advantage of a good cauſe, and yet, after all, an *unequal match* for a *few naked* unbelievers? ſurely, my lord, they ill deſerve to be kept in conſtant pay, who are either too lazy to fight, or too unſkilful to conquer, when the oppoſition

ſition is ſo weak and trifling. Superſtition has been generally the parent of infidelity; and the long-ago exploded abſurdities and traditions of divine right, uninterrupted ſucceſſion, *&c.* which have been vamped up afreſh, and retailed abroad by ſome of our modern hierarchical champions, ſpeaks them better qualified to increaſe the doubts, and confirm the prejudices of unbelievers, than to ſatisfy and remove them. When the noſtrums of a party are dreſſed up as the eſſentials of Chriſtian worſhip, no wonder if perſons of volatile diſpoſitions ſhould confound truth and error, and reject Chriſtianity itſelf as an impoſture.

But are our * reſtleſs adverſaries abroad waiting for the advantages they reap from the proſpect of confuſion at home? Still it is your Lordſhip's and the clergy's buſineſs to diſappoint their hopes. Have we confuſions at home? remove the *cauſe*, the *effect* will ceaſe of courſe. Who more likely to propagate confuſion, than they who raiſe a *tumultuous* alarm of the *danger of the church?* Who would eſtabliſh a prelatical juriſdiction on a *level with the civil conſtitution itſelf*, and conſequently repreſent the church, as inveſted with a power to deſtroy, as well as ſave; to excommunicate princes, as well as pardon and abſolve them? Inſtead of this, exert your influence, my lord, to heal ſtrife,

* Charge 1. p. 6.

ſtrife, and unite proteſtants: put an end to the uncharitable differences among them, recommend principles of love and benevolence, not to a *diſtinguiſhing ſect* or party, but to the whole race of mankind; cultivate a ſpirit of meekneſs and charity toward Chriſtians of different ſentiments and denominations; reſign all authoritative claims over conſcience, and let the clergy ceaſe from invading the rights of their fellow-creatures, and the ſole prerogative of the deity; give up the rigid impoſition of things confeſſedly indifferent in their own nature, and make the gates of the church as wide as the gates of heaven.

In Page 8, your Lordſhip obſerves, that "we "live in an incredulous age, that much in-"dulges ſcepticiſm, and diſputes the grounds of "faith that have been all along received." Aſſerting the right of *private judgment*, and denying the *infallibility* of the church, may perhaps be repreſented as *incredulity* by your lordſhip. But waving that, let an honeſt reverence be paid to notions that have been received; yet I hope your lordſhip's faith is not ſettled merely upon tradition.—Let that be the boaſted unenvied claim of a *corrupt hierarchy* and *prieſtcraft*; but all good proteſtants will build their faith upon a nobler foundation. *Scepticiſm* can never prove as injurious to Chriſtianity, (what it may to the church, you are beſt able to determine) as *credulity* and an *implicit*

implicit obedience. Enquiring into the grounds of faith cannot weaken, but confirm and eſtabliſh its authority.——I agree that we ought to be always ready, and I add able, to give an anſwer to every one that aſks a reaſon of the hope that is in us. "We ought to be prepared to evince the grounds "and neceſſity of reforming the church of *Eng-* "*land*, from the idolatries, ſuperſtitions, and u- "ſurpations of the *Romiſh* communion." But ought we not, my lord, in this to be conſiſtent with ourſelves? Or of what avail to deliver an elaborate *charge againſt popery*, and at the ſame time be for eſtabliſhing a *proteſtant popery* at home? To dethrone his *holineſs*, and ſet up in his room an *infallibility* of your own at *Litchfield* or *Lambeth*, to defend our *church* upon the authority of thoſe very principles you explode as to the *Romiſh church* and communion? —— Put the caſe, out of reſpect to your lordſhip, I will not urge it as fact, that when you had condemned bowings and proſtrations to ſaints, incenſe before, and ſalutations to their images *, the grave paſtoral charge being concluded, you (very conſiſtently, my lord) tacked about, and made a *right reverend* bow to the altar. It will perhaps be ſaid, it is out of *gratitude*, an acknowledgment of favours, and a *tribute* paid for the gold received from the altar. But

* Charge 2. p. 9.

But ſtill would not your lordſhip's conduct in ſuch a caſe deſtroy all the force of your reaſonings? Spectators will conclude that you harangue for *pay*, but act upon *principle*. —— I remember what I once heard from your lordſhip, "*ſpeculative notions* are loſt upon the generality of mankind, but *example* has its *influence* on the meaneſt capacity."

The next particular that deſerves notice, is your obſervation *, "that we ought to have juſt apprehenſions of the judgments of God upon us, removing our candleſtick, for our moſt ſhameful abuſes of the light of the goſpel, and our preferring the return of heatheniſm both in principle and practice to a divine revelation." I would hope your lordſhip doth not mean this of the clergy, to whom your charge is particularly directed. If this repreſentation be matter of fact, I am ſorry for it, my lord: with all reverence to your ſacred character, I would willingly believe that in this *one inſtance it is poſſible* for you to be miſtaken. But if you ſhall inſiſt upon it, I muſt ſubmit to your lordſhip's ſuperior judgment. However, if ſo, I find according to your conceſſion, that the prieſthood are not ſo zealous in guarding againſt the return of heatheniſm, as againſt the loſs of ſpiritual tithes and juriſdiction.

It

* Charge 1. p. 9.

It is obvious, that the cry of judgments, by an unſeaſonable application, have loſt much of their force and terror, and have been generally wreſted to ſerve alike on both ſides of a queſtion. *Zuinglius*, a famous reformer, being burnt for hereſy, it was reported his heart was found entire and unconſumed among the aſhes. The Papiſts urged that it denoted the hardneſs and obduracy of his heart; the Proteſtants with *equal propriety*, that is, none at all, repreſented it as a ſign of its firmneſs and integrity. —— In days of yore it was believed, that the entrails of beaſts propheſied; and birds chattered futurity: and is it not equally miraculous, that judgments ſhould ariſe out of the duſt, and that dreams or broomſticks ſhould prognoſticate the diſpleaſure of heaven? But, my lord, if judgments muſt take place; of *all judgments*, it is the *greateſt* to be deluded by ſuch *idle* and *ſuperſtitious* notions, to indulge ſuch *wild* and *viſionary* fears.

What next offers to view, is your lordſhip's high encomium on the *eſtabliſhed epiſcopal* church, where you obſerve that it *ſtands* * *on a level with the civil conſtitution itſelf. Only on a level*, my lord? A kind and gracious conceſſion? The *church* and king, as your *Lordſhip well knows*, has been the *toaſt* of *orthodoxy* for ſome ages. The *mitre* bore the

* Charge 1. p. 10.

the preheminence, and the *crown truckled* to its dictates. But *tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.*

It is well known, how King *Henry* the ſecond was excommunicated by the pope, for affronting a mean-born, ſaucy, ſeditious, and ungrateful prieſt; who, by his prince's favour, had been promoted to the higheſt dignities in the kingdom. Nor did the vengeance of the church ceaſe with the rebel's death. The prieſt-ridden monarch was obliged to atone for his former want of docility and ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee. Before he could procure an abſolution, he was ſentenced to walk barefoot to the infamous rebel, *Thomas a Becket*'s tomb, and there was whipt and ſcourged by a *gang* of *monks* and *villains*, of the order of St. *Auguſtine*. And in latter days we have not wanted inſtances of eccleſiaſtics that have pretended to a kind of ſovereignty over princes. The holy martyr *Laud* ordered, that the *queen* of *Bohemia*, our *preſent ſovereign*'s royal great grandmother, and her royal iſſue, ſhould have their names expunged out of the prayers of the church, which was accordingly done. Yet when the church thus triumphed over the civil conſtitution, that compleat churchman *Echard* aſſures us, that all this time *England* had a mighty ſhew of glory and felicity! Though there were ſuch open and undiſguiſed attacks upon the proteſtant religion, yet the church was then ſo

far

far from danger, that the ſame *reverend hiſtorian* adds, it was ſhining in grandeur! But alas! theſe happy days are over! according to your lordſhips ſcheme, it can never go well with the church, unleſs its friends are not only allowed to reign over conſcience, but like *true ſons* of the *mother of harlots*, to * reign over the kings of the earth. However, this point deſerves a cloſer attention. Whence is it, that the church is on a level with the civil conſtitution itſelf? Doth it not derive all its authority from thence? Is it not the *great ſeal of England* that makes biſhops? Are the clergy ſubjects, or are they kings? Perhaps it will be ſaid, neither; they are *Gods*, though they not only *die*, but *live too*, like other men. Are they all bound by their *oaths*, I will not preſs their inclinations into the ſervice, to be governed by the laws? to be governed by them as ſubjects? —— But if they are on a *level with the civil conſtitution itſelf*, ſhould any competition ariſe, are we bound to obey the prince and the laws, or the church and clergy? Or has the convocation any right to meet and aſſemble without the royal licence and authority? Surely it has, if it be on a *level with the civil conſtitution itſelf?* Why then will you, my lord, and the dignitaries of the church, ſubmit in ſo plain a caſe to any bold and arbitrary encroachments

* Revelations.

ments on your rights, as to ſuffer yourſelves to be prorogued by a *pretence* to *royal authority*, where there is no juſt authority at all? But your lordſhip may be able to aſſign wiſe reaſons for it. However, on all *proper occaſions*, the prieſthood are to "* vindicate thoſe ſpiritual powers derived from "their great Maſter." Who he is, your lordſhip has not thought proper to mention; but I hope, my lord, you mean neither the *pope*, nor his elder brother the devil. They are to "vindicate "thoſe powers ſo derived, by ſhewing that they "are † in their own nature *diſtinct from*, and *in-*"*dependent of* all ſecular authority." But how is this to be done? — By mobbing, treaſon and rebellion? Though the fervent prayers of a righteous man avail much, yet it is to be hoped that neither the fervent prayers nor exhortations, even of a biſhop, will ever avail to put in execution any ſeditious ſchemes to render the church independent of the ſtate, and inveſting the prieſthood with authority to depoſe emperors and princes. — But, my lord, however men of ‡ *diſtinguiſhing character* buoy themſelves up with a notion of independence upon civil government, in *point of prudence* they ſhould take heed that they do not provoke to jealouſy, that royal clemency which *connives* at ſuch arrrogating claims and uſurpations. Perhaps it

* Charge 2. p. 53. † Ibid. ‡ Charge 2. p. 54.

it will be ſaid, theſe are viſionary fears,——for none are bleſſed with the peruſal of the writings that propagate ſuch notions, but a few dioceſan clergy; and that ſome modern *epiſcopal charges*, the very reverſe of their *authors*,— never reſide at court, but in the country. However, my lord, while ſuch fanatical principles are publicly eſpouſed and defended, you muſt expect to be called upon to give ſome conſiſtent account of your conduct. When your lordſhip had the *Holy Ghoſt* conferred upon you in ordination, did you not then ſolemnly ſubſcribe the 37th article of the church, which runs thus. — "The queen's majeſty has the "chief power in this realm of *England*, and other "her dominions, unto whom the chief government "of all eſtates of this realm, whether they be ec- "cleſiaſtical or civil, in all cauſes doth apper- "tain; and is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any "foreign juriſdiction." Have you not ſolemnly ſubſcribed this article, my lord? — But perhaps you ſubſcribed it as an article of *peace*, and not of *faith*.—Further, is it not expreſly ordained by the canons of our church,——"That whoſoever ſhall "hereafter affirm, that the king's majeſty has not "the ſame authority in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, that "the godly kings had among the *Jews* and Chriſ- "tian emperors in the primitive church, or *im- "peach any part of his regal ſupremacy*, in the ſaid "cauſes reſtored to the crown, and by the laws

" of this realm therein eſtabliſhed; let him be " *excommunicate ipſo facto*, and not reſtored but by " the archbiſhop, and after his repentance, and " public revocation of thoſe his wicked errors." And are not all, who are conſecrated for the ſervices of the altar, enjoined by canon 36, to ſubſcribe, " That the king's majeſty, under God, is " the only ſupreme governor of this realm, and " of all other his highneſs's dominions and coun- " tries, as well in all *ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical* " *things or cauſes*, as temporal; and that no fo- " reign prince, perſon, *prelate*, ſtate, or poten- " tate, hath, or ought to have any juriſdiction, " power, ſuperiority, preheminence or authority, " eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within his majeſty's ſaid " realms, dominions and countries." And according to the 25 *H.* 8. c. 19, " the clergy of the realm " of *England* have not only acknowledged, *ac-* " *cording to the truth*, that the convocations of the " ſame clergy is, always hath been, and ought to " be aſſembled only by the king's writ; but alſo " ſubmitting themſelves to the king's majeſty, " have promiſed, in *verbo ſacerdotis*, that they will " never from henceforth preſume to attempt, al- " ledge, claim, or put in ure, enact, promulge, " or execute any new canons, conſtitutions, or- " dinances, provincial, or others; or by whatſo- " ever name they ſhall be called in convocation, " unleſs the king's moſt royal aſſent and licence

" to

" to them may be had, to make, promulge, and " execute the ſame; and, that his majeſty do give " his royal aſſent and authority in that behalf. " And whereas, divers conſtitutions, ordinances, " and canons, provincial or ſynodal, which here- " tofore have been enacted; and be thought not " only to be much prejudicial to the king's prero- " gative royal, and repugnant to the laws and " ſtatutes of this realm; but alſo overmuch one- " rous to his highneſs, and his ſubjects, *&c.*" And accordingly enacts; " Be it therefore enacted, " by the authority of this preſent parliament, ac- " cording to the ſaid ſubmiſſion and petition of " the ſaid clergy, that they, nor either of them " henceforth, ſhall *preſume* to attempt, alledge, " claim, or put in ure, any conſtitutions, or or- " dinances provincial or ſynodal, or any other ca- " nons, nor ſhall enact, promulge, or execute " any ſuch canons, conſtitutions, or ordinances " provincial, by whatſoever name or names they " may be called in their convocations in time co- " ming, which always ſhall be aſſembled by au- " thority of the king's writ, *&c.*" And will your lordſhip, in defiance of acts of parliament, in con- tempt of the canons of the church, and in direct oppoſition to thoſe articles you have ſubſcribed, maintain that the church is independent of the im- perial crown of theſe realms?

Your lordſhip's account of the oppoſition to the epiſcopal church, is, "That * men's preju-"dices are frequently too powerful for their rea-"ſon." The remark in general is certainly juſt; and I humbly ſubmit it to the judgment of the reader, whether it will not appear from the following reflections, that your particular prepoſterous application of it to others, doth not ſpeak it in fact the caſe of your lordſhip. Few, my lord, are prejudiced in favour of diſgrace, diſcouragements, and unpopular notions. Had the enemies of the church any proſpect that their oppoſition would entitle them to *biſhoprics*, *tranſlations*, *pluralities*, and *commendams*; were there any *ſtipends* and *honours* annexed to their oppoſition; or were their notions the offspring of *churchmanſhip* and *brandy*, none at all would be ſurpriſed that their prejudices ſhould be too powerful for their reaſon. But when men expoſe themſelves to great hardſhips and difficulties in life, to a low and penurious ſubſiſtence, when they prefer poverty and a good conſcience to wealth and power, it is unaccountable it ſhould be ſuggeſted, that, under ſuch circumſtances, prejudices are too powerful for their reaſon. Did they thirſt after univerſal hierarchy, and graſp at empire in *this world*, as well as lay claim to the *keys of the next*; their prejudices in ſupporting

* Charge 1. p. 11.

porting ſuch *intereſted* views, might prove too powerful for their reaſon —— But when we conſider, my lord, that the party in the oppoſition are generally made up of *conſcientious illiterate folks*, that wear *meagre* and *ſanctified* complexions, and do not court *grandeur* and *popularity* as much as *grace* and *truth*, which came by *Chriſt Jeſus*; where is the charity, where is the conſiſtence; nay, where is the *prudence*, which may be a more *fundamental* point with your lordſhip, to damn them wholeſale as a race of prejudiced bigots? Was *your lordſhip* to renounce all eccleſiaſtical immunities and honours, to reſign your church-preferments, ceaſe from lording it in the ſenate, and with an awful brow adjuſting the weighty concerns of the nation; were you to deſire to be a biſhop, as it is a *good work*, rather than covet a biſhopric without any of the work at all, as it is a *good fat thing*; ſome perhaps would then be convinced, that *you were prejudiced* againſt the love of money, but none would ever ſuggeſt that your lordſhip, in ſuch a caſe, was prejudiced againſt the force of conviction.

Indeed, ſuch a fatal biaſs do worldly pomp and greatneſs put upon men's underſtandings, that our Saviour ſeems to repreſent it impoſſible, that thoſe who enjoy them, ſhould at the ſame time be ſincere admirers of truth. How can they believe, who receive honour one of another? The

emoluments of the church, its conſecrated treaſures and trinkets would have been in danger, clerical authority and power muſt ceaſe, if Chriſtianity took place; and rather than renounce theſe, it ſeems, like *good churchmen*, they would have ſwore religion to be a bubble, as well as the *Meſſiah* to be an impoſtor.

I would not ſuppreſs any thing, that may *give pleaſure* to your lordſhip. Among many other ſurprizing miracles recorded in ſacred hiſtory, one almoſt *incredible* in its nature, is,—That a *great number* of prieſts became *obedient to the faith*. Perhaps, my lord, you may not think the miracle ſo great as I repreſent it; but I ſhall have your lordſhip's concurrence when you conſider, that they became obedient with a view to glory and immortality, and not to *preſent pay*. Upon the whole, it appears that when men embrace deſpiſed unfaſhionable notions, it is more natural to ſuppoſe, that reaſon triumphs over their intereſts and their prejudices, than that intereſt truckles to prejudice, and prejudice triumphs over reaſon.

In the following page your lordſhip accounts for *Jerome*'s opinion concerning epiſcopacy; by obſerving that *Jerome* entertained ſome reſentments againſt *John, biſhop of Jeruſalem*, and therefore treated epiſcopacy with ſome terms of diminution. Might you not have ſaid, my Lord, without mincing the matter, with an avowed contempt?

The

The good father, it ſeems, was out of humour, and he muſt needs publiſh *ſolemn lies* to gratify his ſpleen and paſſion. As for my part, I take the hiſtory of *Quixote's errantries*, to be a lively emblem of the wild romantic extravagances of the Fathers. Nor am I at all concerned either with *Jerom* or *epiſcopacy*.—— But where is the conſiſtence of deifying the *authority* of the *fathers*, when they ſerve a turn, and of repreſenting them as perſons of no integrity or character, if they happen to be againſt you? Their *authority* is indiſputable, if their ſchemes tally with yours; but they muſt be old, *peeviſh*, *paſſionate*, *bigots* or *hypocrites*, if on the other ſide of the queſtion. It put me in mind of the humour of country elections, as running exactly parallel with this behaviour in your lordſhip. The abandoned tools of a party are painted under the venerable names of patriots, while perſons of greateſt integrity, in different principles and intereſts, are weak, corrupt, crafty, or deſigning; or to uſe the language of Mr. *Addiſon*'s fox-hunter, which perhaps may be more agreeable to your lordſhip *, "One is a dog, an-"other is a whelp, another a cur, another the "ſon of a bitch;" under which ſeveral denominations, the rural ſquire comprehended all thoſe who were attached to an intereſt oppoſite to his

* Freeholder.

own. Whether St. *Jerom* has met with a kinder fate, is very eaſy to be determined.

What next occurs, is, that as ſoon as the apoſtles left the world, the * "*ordinary* functions "of their apoſtleſhip devolved on the biſhops as "governors of particular churches." I am glad to find that the biſhops in thoſe early days did not arrogate to themſelves all the lordly claims of ſpiritual authority. It ſeems the province of thoſe who would be the *governors of the univerſe*, and who have been *its plague*, I do not mean proteſtant biſhops, my lord, was originally to be governors of *particular* churches. But did they as governors lay claim to a *monopoly* of wealth and grace? Were they the *only wiſe men*, and was all wiſdom *to die* with them? No; it was to be conveyed down in an *uninterrupted ſucceſſion*, to the future prieſts of future ages. — But wherein did the *ordinary* function of apoſtleſhip conſiſt? Was it not in preaching the word in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon? And is this devolved upon the biſhops? I ſhould have rather concluded, that they would be heirs to the more *extraordinary miraculous gifts* of the apoſtles, and, to prove their title of inheritance, ſhew by their example, that they can *work miracles* at proper ſeaſons, as it is a *miracle* for a — *modern biſhop* to preach.

I ſhall

* Charge 1. p. 13.

I ſhall not examine, at preſent, into what your lordſhip has advanced concerning the importance of ſtudying eccleſiaſtical antiquity. That the hiſtory of the fathers is nothing more than a repreſentation of a *theological bear garden*, is what I preſume, my lord, you will readily agree to; and in return to ſuch a conceſſion, let it be acknowledged, that men of leiſure may ſquander away their time decently and genteely upon them. But,

We are now arriving at another period; and to view "the ‡ epiſcopal church as eſtabliſhed by "law, when the powers of the *Roman* empire be-"came Chriſtian." I take it for granted that in your lordſhip's phraſe, the *epiſcopal* church and *chriſtianity* always go for ſynonymous expreſſions. You obſerve, that before Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed, "§ it was in an unhappy ſtate of minority." But whether the church when its *ſtate of minority* ceaſed, did not like ſome *other minors*, when grown up to be their own maſters, diſtinguiſh itſelf more by its *pride and poſſeſſions*, than by any more valuable accompliſhments. I leave you to conſider; whether it did not likewiſe act in open contempt of the wiſe and ſalutary inſtructions of its old guardians and friends, will perhaps be none of your *lordſhip*'s intereſt to determine. But however unhappy the church's ſtate of minority may appear,

‡ Charge I. p. 17. § Ibid.

it muſt be allowed, my lord, to be more unhappy ſtill, if ſuch times ſhould ever happen, when the name of the *church* ſhall be made an engine of *tyranny* and *ſuperſtition*; when its authority ſhall be urged to oppreſs honeſty and conſcience; when ſuch notions are advanced, as that God Almighty is only the deputy of eccleſiaſtics, and can confer grace and favour only with the leave of the ſacred prieſthood, and by the permiſſion of my lords the Biſhops; and when thoſe monopolize to themſelves the ſalvation of another world, who are ſcarce worthy to live in this. Nor can our fears of ſuch time be ill grounded, if what your lordſhip maintains be true, "that there is ſcarce "honeſty enough in the nation to preſerve it from "downright ruin." *Perſecution* was never ſo fatal to Chriſtianity, as the *domineering claims* of high churchmen. Nothing has fixed a greater odium upon religion, than crafty and deſigning bigots, *tacking* the *intereſt of heaven* to thoſe extravagant fooleries that ſupport *their own*. But I aſk pardon, notwithſtanding all your zeal for a hierarchy and ‖ *terriers*, I am far from judging your lordſhip to be of that number.

It is granted that there ought to be ‡ a proper maintenance for the clergy.—— But what will your lordſhip judge to be proper on ſuch an occaſion?

‖ See Charge 1, p. 37.

‡ Charge 1, p. 18.

ſion? muſt they have that reward for *worſhipping God*, which was offered our Saviour for *worſhipping the devil*, the *kingdoms* of this world, and *all the glories* thereof. Muſt their hire be proportionate to the work and merit, or muſt the lazy, the indolent and unſkilful have all the pay, though they do nothing to earn it? my lord, were church emoluments diſtributed in juſt and equitable proportions, there would be a handſome and liberal ſubſiſtence for every pariſh prieſt in the nation. I appeal to your lordſhip as to this. It is a trite obſervation, "that the church had *golden prieſts*, "when it had *wooden chalices*; but when religion "brought forth wealth, the *daughter devoured* "the *mother*." Yet notwithſtanding this, your lordſhip well knows that this unnatural monſter, which preys upon that which gave her birth, has a multitude of *rival admirers*, and is courted, if not *idolized*, by the whole body of the prieſthood. It is true, many of that venerable herd are under ſtrait circumſtances: let them be relieved out of the abundance of thoſe who neither *want* nor *deſerve* it. There is ſomething very entertaining in *Conſtantine*'s well-meant folly and devotion to the clergy, when aſſembled at the council of *Nice*: "God has made you prieſts, and has impowered "you to judge me righteouſly, but you are above "the cognizance of any human tribunal.—— "You are as Gods to me, and no man has autho-

" rity to judge you." My lord, I often thought that *conſecration* was one of the church's peculiar prerogatives and bleſſings; but it ſeems to be otherwiſe in this inſtance, and many of the holy tribe have arrogated divinity ever ſince‡.

The authority of the *Theodoſian* code is urged by your lordſhip in favour of eſtabliſhments, I will not ſay, with a view to ſuperſede the authority of the bible. It has been condemned as idolatry *, and exaggerated in the blackeſt views, to believe that the will of the ſon is dependent upon that of the father; but it is an *orthodox* principle to believe that the will of God ſhould ſubmit to, and be determined by human laws and ſyſtems. Suppoſing a ſubordination of perſons in the Godhead has been marked out as an inſtance of accompliſhed wickedneſs and folly; but to repreſent the Chriſtian revelation, as ſubordinate to the authority of the church, is no crime at all; nay, the greateſt of all *eccleſiaſtical*, I cannot ſay *Chriſtian* virtues: And even to *depoſe* the father, is leſs unpardonable than to deny the *Supremacy of the clergy*. But whatever your lordſhip may think, I muſt own myſelf too much an *infidel*, to believe againſt the firſt principles of Reaſon. Your lordſhip wiſhes that *Julian*'s malice towards the clergy had found none to imitate it out of hatred to chriſtianity.

‡ Charge 1. p. 18.

* See Dr. *Smallbroke*'s Sermons on Arianiſm.

ſtianity itſelf. Then it is granted, that his malice was not levied at *Chriſtianity*, but at *eccleſiaſtics*. I rejoice to find it allowed that there may be an enmity againſt the ill conduct of the latter, without any diſregard to the former. But perhaps, upon farther conſideration, your lordſhip may think proper to retract this.

You obſerve, that "ſuch * an extraordinary ſort "of ſubſiſtence as that, by voluntary contribu- "tions, is not always to be expected; and a legal "eſtabliſhment doth juſtly compenſate for the "want of oblation, when the love of many is "grown very cold." But why are not voluntary contributions always to be expected?—The clergy, as men of character and education, will always engage reverence and eſteem, if they have prudence and good conduct enough to deſerve it. I am informed, that the proteſtant diſſenting miniſters here in *England*, receive their pay by voluntary contributions; and if I am rightly inſtructed, it is the ſame with ſome of the reformed proteſtants abroad. Will your lordſhip pretend that the preachers in the eſtabliſhment do not do as much to recommend themſelves to their people's affections, as thoſe to theirs? are not thoſe who frequent places of eſtabliſhed worſhip, much more conſiderable in numbers, than thoſe who attend ſeparate con-

* Charge 1. p. 19.

congregations? if ſo, then the diſſenting clergy muſt be men of ſuperior worth, or the diſſenters in general muſt be perſons of a more beneficent diſpoſition than thoſe who ſubmit to eſtabliſhed rites and impoſitions.——I cannot admit of either; however, I will not diſpute this point with your lordſhip.

Is the love of many grown *cold?* what can be the reaſon? is bigotry *warm* and *rampant?* are the laity *ſhackled* with creeds and impoſitions?—— No wonder, if ſo, that their love is grown *very cold!* it is well if the very fundamentals of Chriſtianity be not baniſhed from amongſt them. Or doth it proceed from the want of better inſtructions? do the clergy *live* upon the *ignorance* and *ſuperſtition* of the people, without any regard to the duties of their function? *hot ſermons*, my lord, have been generally productive of ſuitable effects, *bloodſheds*, *rancour*, and *confuſion*. How far *cold* and *lifeleſs* ones, without any force of addreſs, or energy of reaſon, may propagate *coldneſs*, is well worth our attention.

In the next paragraph it follows, "that eſta-"bliſhments do not convert ſpiritual into civil, but "give a ſanction to that which was before, and "ſtill continues divine and heavenly." That is, though prieſts are above being engaged in any thing that

that bears the name of a ſecular employment; yet to ſhew the world their *humility*, they condeſcend to accept the higheſt ſecular dignities and honours. But is every thing *divine* and *heavenly*, in the eſtabliſhed conſtitution? all the claims of the hierarchy *divine* and *heavenly*, my lord? thoſe branches of ſpiritual dominion which are an oppreſſion upon mankind, and a reproach to Chriſtianity, *divine* and *heavenly* in their nature? have you not expreſly declared, that there are ſome leſſer deficiencies in the government of the church, and are theſe *divine* and *heavenly* too?——They are legal privileges.—True, ſo was once the act *de hæretico comburendo* *, and no doubt would be counted ſo ſtill, had not the wiſdom of the legiſlature, to reſtrain prieſtly vengeance and executions, thought proper to repeal it.

But I muſt beg leave to expoſtulate with your lordſhip on another ſubject. What connexion between virtue and eſtabliſhments, my lord? do eſtabliſhments, merely becauſe they are ſo, demand our reverence and eſteem? it is to be hoped then, your lordſhip will exert your influence, that we may have *eſtabliſhed Gods* as well as an *eſtabliſhed religion*; and that we may bleſſed with *national divinities*, as well as *national churches*, and let all thoſe who expect any church-promotions, *ſwear allegiance*,

* The act for *burning hereticks*.

allegiance, if not to the *king*, yet at leaſt to the *Gods* of their country. However romantic to infidels this ſcheme may appear, however unfriendly to Chriſtianity, it will be for the good of the church, increaſe its wealth and power, and the loweſt rank of eccleſiaſtical officers, who are now no more than the *privy counſellors* of heaven, will then be privileged to *make*, as well as *ſet forth* ſtrange Gods. If eſtabliſhments are ſuch glorious things, why are not good nature, ſocial virtue, and free enquiry into truth, eſtabliſhed by parliamentary power? without this let none arrogate to themſelves the names of eſtabliſhments *of religion!* — If our eſtabliſhment comprehends all this, why ſo many whores and cut-throats, ſo many ignorant bigots, knaves, and perſecutors in our church and communion? why ſo many *Tyburn ſaints* and *confeſſors*, that die in the faith of our church? I leave you to account for this, and ſhould rejoice to find that eſtabliſhments have a greater tendency to propagate virtue, than to debauch men's morals and underſtandings; and to promote pride, avarice and faction.

Your lordſhip obſerves, that the * "*Roman* "emperors were inveſted with power of govern-"ing the church as well as the ſtate." What, my lord, *lay governors* of churches? and yet the

* Charge 1. p. 20.

the church on a *level with the civil conſtitution itſelf*, to whoſe government ſhe ſubmits? If the *Roman* emperors were inveſted with a power of church government, how comes this to be now *peculiarly appropriated* to prieſts and biſhops? But I ſtand corrected, my Lord. They were only inveſted with an *uſurped* power of governing the church, the *ſole uncontroulable right* of government lies in the clergy.

It is worth remarking, that inſiſting on the rights of conſcience, ſeems to give great umbrage and offence to your lordſhip. The divine right of church-lands and epiſcopacy, of tithes and offerings, I preſume never give any umbrage at all. But to urge the rights of conſcience in your phraſe, "is *invidious*." I ſhould not have been ſurprized to find one that is a ſtranger to the laws of conſcience himſelf, repreſent all regard for its dictates in others, as mere *enthuſiaſm*, rant and folly. But to find a *church of England* divine, a *dignitary* in the *church*, decrying *conſcience* with ſo much contempt, and with a *ſolemn ſneer* paint out thoſe who are influenced by it, as * "high pre-"tenders to ſpiritual liberty," muſt be a paradox to all that are not as well initiated in thoſe *holy myſteries* as your *lordſhip*. Speak out, my lord. —— Tell the world that conſcience is only a *trick*

* Charge 1. p. 21.

trick of *prieſts*, an *eccleſiaſtical foot-ball*, to be toſſed about juſt as it *ſerves the times*. Generouſly declare, that it is *invidious* to urge conſcience againſt —*ſome thouſands* a year, that whatever ſtrikes at church-tyranny is *invidious*, or whatever weakens the foundations of all illegal and arbitrary encroachments upon the rights of mankind.

The next obſervation carries along with it, ſomething very extraordinary in its nature. As to "the reformation of the idolatrous *Jews*, or the "aboliſhing of paganiſm, and eſtabliſhment of "Chriſtianity, and the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, "by the reſpective *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian Princes†; "*in fact*, their *aſſumed ſupremacy* was an *uſurpa*"*tion* on men's natural rights." That is, according to your lordſhip, the *Jewiſh* reformers, and Chriſtian princes, were accompliſhed villains. But, my lord, were not the *Jews* under a ſtate of theocracy? Was not God himſelf the immediate ruler and governor of that people? If idolatry was ſeverely puniſhed amongſt them; when fallible men are on a level with the Deity, as to knowledge, wiſdom, and goodneſs, then, and not before, let them go and do likewiſe.—I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to an examination of the account you have given as to Chriſtian princes. Were they in fact guilty of *uſurping* men's natural rights?

† Ibid.

rights? Did they *perſecute* and *puniſh* all who could not fall in with the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution? Did they *curſe* and *excomunicate* thoſe who *diſclaimed* all pretenſions to infallibility? Did they inflict *pecuniary mulcts*, and encourage oppreſſive laws? I no longer *wonder* that your lordſhip is inſpired with ſuch a warm zeal for eſtabliſhments. And are the high flown pretenſions of the hierarchy, in being on a *level with the civil conſtitution*, founded upon *fraud* and *uſurpation?* Your church-dignities and revenues nothing but an *uſurpation* upon the rights and properties of ſubjects? Is your *pay*, (for your prayers are an unknown bleſſing,) an *eſtabliſhed uſurpation*, and *eſtabliſhments* in general, the offspring of craft and deluſion? Truth will out, my lord. But I ſhould have been better pleaſed with this from an infidel or a fanatick's pen than from your lordſhip's.

I have nothing to object to this honeſt account given of eſtabliſhments. But, my lord, muſt we place in the ſame view all our church-reformers? Were this true, a religion ſupported by ſuch *iniquitous* meaſures may juſtly *complain of danger!* Hail ye glorious reformers of mankind, from idolatries and ſuperſtition, from a ſpirit of bondage and darkneſs, ye heaven-born patriarchs of liberty, awake your venerable aſhes, and hear yourſelves *branded* with the character of *uſurpers!* Behold your names proſtituted to give ſanction to the bigotry

bigotry of *weak rulers*, that have been firſt deluded, and then deſtroyed by *imperious wicked eccleſiaſtics!*

But it ſeems though the reforming princes were guilty of an uſurpation on men's natural rights in ſettling eſtabliſhments, yet * "their ſubjects, "notwithſtanding any *pretended ſcruples* and *rights* "*of conſcience*, were obliged to comply with thoſe "eſtabliſhed reformations, when they were not "ſinful in themſelves, nor contrary to the laws "of God." Then it ſeems, my lord, *uſurpations* of natural rights, are neither *ſinful* in themſelves, nor *repugnant* to divine precepts. The *church* changes the nature of things, converts *villany* into *holy zeal*, and *unchriſtian uſurpations* are made the bulwarks of the *Chriſtian religion*. But admitting uſurpations of men's rights, to be as innocent as you apprehend them, (though I am ſatisfied you will not allow any uſurpations on your *lordſhip*'s or the *church*'s rights to be of that number) who is to judge whether they are to be ſubmitted to? have we recourſe to any infallible judicature, or is every man to judge for himſelf?——It ſeems, not the latter; for notwithſtanding "any ſcruples and "pretended rights of conſcience, men are "obliged to comply with ſuch eſtabliſhments and "reformations." It is allowed, thoſe who fall in

* Charge 1. p. 23.

in with your lordſhip's ſcheme, would pretend no *ſcruples*, or urge no *right* of *conſcience* to hinder their falling in with *gainful eſtabliſhments* and *reformations*. But what if a weak man of integrity cannot ſatisfy himſelf in proſtituting his conſcience to the *authority* of the church? if he is oppreſſed with any doubts which way to chuſe inſtead of making *rational enquiries* into things, has he nothing to do but follow the advice of a *reverend caſuiſt*, *whiſtle* and *ſing*, whilſt theſe *fits* of the *devil* are upon him? or doth the ſtrength and glory of the church conſiſt in large numbers of *hackney conſciences* amongſt us, that are to be *lett* to the *beſt bidder*?

It is true, my lord, "the * royal ſupremacy "has been frequently recognized by the legiſla- "ture, and accordingly ſworn to by liege ſub- "jects," and by the *clergy too*, "on all *proper* "*occaſions*;" though with what congruity, your lordſhip can beſt tell, if the church be *on a level with the civil conſtitution itſelf*, and *independent of it*. Perhaps they put the ſame conſtruction upon *oaths* as others do upon their *prayers*, and imagine few will take them to be in earneſt. I do not repreſent this as the caſe of all the ſons of the church. But as to thoſe who ſwear to the *ſupremacy* of the *crown*, and yet maintain that the church is on a *level*

* Charge 1. p. 21.

level with the civil conſtitution; I publicly call upon and challenge your lordſhip to give a more favourable account of their conduct.

The queſtion, with relation to uniformity of worſhip, is not whether we are obliged to * ſubmit to the royal ſupremacy, and the laws of the land, in all matters that are not repugnant to the laws of God; but whether we muſt cowardly ſubmit to the authority of churchmen, when repugnant to the royal ſupremacy, the laws of God, and the laws of the land all together? whether we are in duty bound to *bow down* and *worſhip* our *ſovereign lords* the *clergy*?—Whether the *word of* God, or *catholic antiquity* is to be the rule of our faith and conduct? whether there can be any *lawful authority*, any *authority* derived from the *New Teſtament*, or the *reaſon of things*, to impoſe things that are in their own nature *confeſſedly indifferent*, as *neceſſary* and *eſſential* terms of Chriſtian communion? has the church any right to *exclude* thoſe from its ordinances whom God will at laſt *admit* to his kingdom? whatever ſect pretends to this, let it be called a *party-club*, a *cabballing*, *intriguing*, *ſpiritual faction*, but let it not be called the church of Chriſt, which is as oppoſite to it, as light is to darkneſs.

In

* Charge 1. p. 23.

In the following pages, your lordſhip expatiates on the excellency of the liturgy and government of our church. But are there no *blemiſhes* in either? would it not have been generous to have pointed theſe to your clergy, my lord? would it not have diſcovered greater impartiality to confeſs that the church is fallible; to reject the *obſcure*, *unintelligible* notions of *bungling* creed-makers; and allow the bible excluſive of all *prieſtly appendages* and *ſupplemental decorations*, to be a perfect rule of our faith and manners? indeed, your lordſhip has hinted that the *ſuperior authority* of God, is rather to be obeyed than that of men. That is, I preſume, if it happens to coincide with the authority of the church. But, my lord, ſuch hints in *point of prudence*, ought to be cautiouſly given. In the language of our church, they are of dangerous conſequence; and have led men to *apoſtatiſe* into the truth.

I muſt not paſs by what your lordſhip aſſerts *, "that the rights of conſcience do by no means "interfere either with the eſtabliſhment of an ec- "cleſiaſtical conſtitution in general or with the "preſent eſtabliſhment of the church of *England* "in particular." I will not charge *your lordſhip* with abſurdity and contradiction. *Myſtery* is a more polite and faſhionable term. Permit me then

* Charge 1. p. 27.

then to obſerve, that it is a *myſtery with a vengeance*, how to reconcile this with what you advanced elſewhere, † that "in fact the aſſumed Supremacy of Chriſtian powers was an uſurpation on "mens natural rights." Holy, infallible and omnipotent mother! by virtue of thy authority, the reformed religion is damned, as an uſurpation of natural rights; and by virtue of the ſame, to ſerve a different turn, no eſtabliſhments whatſoever claſh with the rights of conſcience, whether it be the eſtabliſhment of the alcoran, of an inquiſition, of the church of *England*, of *Scotland*, or *Geneva!* "If men are perſwaded that what is "*eſtabliſhed* is unlawful, they muſt *patiently ſuffer*." By parity of reaſon, if men of *importance* utter inconſiſtencies, others muſt patiently ſubmit to hear them. But, my Lord, as you are a ſkillful caſuiſt,——I would be reſolved in this; *Job* had *patience* enough to bear the perſecutions of the *Devil*, and as ſome have thought, *worſt of* all Devils, the devil of a wife.—But as I cannot embrace that notion I would be informed, would his patience have maintained ground againſt the perſecutions of nonſenſe? Is not his expoſtulatory addreſs to his friends juſtly applicable to all the patrons of *public conſcience*, of a cruel oppreſſive ſpirit? *Will ye ſpeak wickedly for God? Will you talk deceitfully for him?* ——If men muſt patiently ſuffer under eſtabliſhments which they are perſuaded to be *unlawful*,

† Charge 1. p. 21.

unlawful, how will your lordſhip, upon this footing, vindicate the conduct of our firſt reformers from popery, who inſtead of *patiently ſuffering*, thought it their duty to hazard their lives and fortunes for the effectual accompliſhment of a reformation? I have been puzzling myſelf with *Ariſtotle*, *Scotus*, and *Aquinas*, in hopes of hammering out ſome Diſtinction that might, in this caſe, have ſerved for an *evaſion*; but all without ſucceſs, and therefore muſt leave it to your lordſhip.

It is agreed, that when thoſe who diſſent from us, are legally indulged a liberty of conſcience*, "they ought to *thank God* for it;" and I add, *not the Clergy*. But what diſturbance can it give the public, for men to propoſe their ſentiments with freedom and honeſty, and to attack craft, knavery, and ſuperſtition?

It gives me a ſenſible pleaſure, to find it allowed, "that † *ſecular authority*, and *advantageous places* "are not things *eſſential* to Religion." But I ſuppoſe, my Lord, you mean no more than that they are not *eſſential* to it on *both* ſides of the queſtion. As we have a right to *differ* from all mankind, but none have a right to *differ* from us; ſo are not church-wealth and power, things *eſſential* to religion amongſt us, though they bear no manner

* Charge 1. p. 27. † Charge 1. p. 28.

ner of connection with it in other communities and churches?—The reader will obſerve, what your lordſhip has aſſerted *, that the fate of tithes and Chriſtianity are immediately connected! that is, to render your lordſhip conſiſtent, though *tithes* are not *eſſential* to chriſtianity, yet chriſtianity muſt *fall* without them. A *chriſtianity* without *tithes* would no more reliſh with the *ſacred prieſthood*, than a *ſermon* without *party-heat*, and *uncharitable language*, *low* and *unmannerly invective*. But ſuppoſing it fact, that worldly greatneſs is not eſſential to religion; *Biſhops*, my lord, muſt be brought down on a *level* with *other men*, and without any danger to the church, *chriſtianity* may be reſcued from the *ſcandalous abuſe* of one of its moſt ſolemn inſtitutions.—But it is obſerved, that "the rights of kings and the legiſlature, "are a juſt ballance to the *ſuppoſed* rights of "conſcience of private ſubjects;" a notable defence of all the craft, villanies, and inquiſitorial vengeance of *Romiſh* prieſts and prelates!

The rights of conſcience, as to private ſubjects, are *ſuppoſed rights*, that is *pretended rights*, without any foundation to ſupport the claim, or in other words, *none* have a *right* to think, who do not think, I will not ſay according to the direction of the legiſlature; but according to the direction of my lords the biſhops. But it is further alledged, "that when rightly explained, the rights of the "legiſlature

* Charge 1. p. 42.

" legiſlature and private ſubjects, do not interfere "with one another." If ſo, when one was fixed on " as a juſt ballance to the other," of conſequence you have not rightly explained them. But I deſiſt, leſt it ſhould be judged *ſcan. magn.* to diſpute the unerringneſs of your lordſhip's judgment.

It is urged, " that in the * circumſtances of divine worſhip, and all indifferent matters, the *authority of the legiſlature* ought ſurely to prevail over *private* opinions". What if *private opinions* are agreeable to *reaſon* and *divine revelation*, ought *authority* to prevail over *truth*, and *tyranny* over *conſcience?* ——By circumſtances of worſhip and indifferent matters, it is preſumed you underſtand, things not *eſſential* to our future happineſs. I muſt once more call upon you, my lord, to vindicate, upon this footing, the juſtice and equitableneſs of our reformation from popery. No men of candour will aſſert an impoſſibility of ſalvation in the *Romiſh* church and communion. How then, according to your reaſoning, can you account for renouncing the *catholic* faith? but with whom ought *authority* to prevail over *private opinions?* not with *honeſt* men, and give me leave to add, I hope without offence, not with *your lordſhip*. With perſons of integrity and judgment, no *au-*

 thority

* Charge 1. p. 29.

thority will have any weight, but *that of reaſon. Authority* has been urged with equal zeal on very different occaſions. *Authority* for *Arianiſm*, as ſtrong *authority againſt it.* And muſt our *principles change* as *authority changes* ſides? then we no longer worſhip God, but the times.—We have the *authority* of *fathers* againſt *fathers*, *councils* againſt *councils*, and *biſhops* againſt *biſhops. Authority* has often *conſecrated* error, *nurſed* ignorance, and *ſuppreſſed* truth. *Authority* has made *tyrants*, *authority* has made *ſlaves*, *authority* has made *hypocrites*, *authority* has made *creeds*, *churches*, and *Gods*; but mere *authority* has ſeldom *propagated virtue*, or *true religon.* Is the legiſlature infallible, that we ſhould make it our ſtandard, and ſubmit our judgments to its direction? no, that is the ſole prerogative, not of unhallowed laics, but of the church and biſhops! why then muſt we recognize *public* and *eſtabliſhed* opinions? it cannot be always out of deference to truth. I preſume then, my lord, it muſt be for the ſame reaſon, as a *late eminent divine* was induced to ſerve God towards the *eaſt*: he that will be a *riſing man*, let him worſhip the *riſing ſun.* The deſign of civil laws is not to *ſettle orthodoxy*, but to puniſh immoralities, that bear an ill aſpect on the welfare of a nation. Neither virtue nor knowledge are the offspring of conſtraint and power. Were it ſo, my lord, *tyburn officers* would

would be as great benefactors to mankind, as the *conſecrators* of Chriſtians and churches. But it is to be feared, that though crouds attend both in the execution of their reſpective offices; yet neither the *dignity* of *characters*, nor the *ſolemnity* of their function, would transfuſe knowledge or virtue into the minds of ſpectators.

Your lordſhip apprehends *, that "the force "of religion is weakened by independent ſchemes "and endleſs diviſions." That is, the liberty of private judgment, which will unavoidably produce, what you call, independent ſchemes and endleſs diviſions, weakens the force of religion. What an odium doth this caſt on the *reformation*? upon that glorious and memorable *æra of Britiſh liberty*, the *revolution*? and upon the illuſtrious *proteſtant* family on the throne? all which have confirmed our right of judging for ourſelves, of being led by *reaſon*, and not by *prieſts*; and therefore, according to your *lordſhip*, have been acceſſary toward weakening the force of religion? and what follows, if men are not allowed to think for themſelves in matters of faith and religion, tyranny and ignorance will be repreſented as the parents of virtue, and an *uſurping prieſthood* become the only proper object of ſuch a devotion! my lord, you may write *ten thouſand* charges againſt popery,

* Charge 1. p. 30.

claim againſt its errors and corruptions, and particularly againſt * *rival biſhops*, that eſcape with impunity, and yet be far from doing any real ſervice to the proteſtant cauſe, whilſt theſe notions are ſo warmly advanced, and I dare ſay *ſincerely too*, that ſtrike at the very fundamentals of the reformation! But, in *point of prudence*, to uſe your lordſhip's own words, whatever your ſentiments may be, you ought, as the times go, to have ſuppreſſed this.

It is not likely, that the wiſe author of nature, ever intended that men ſhould think alike in all ſpeculative matters, otherwiſe he might have put all truth on a *level* with the *meaneſt* underſtandings; or given all mankind *equal capacities* for judging. Indeed, uniformity in religious principles is not only not to be *expected*; but not to be *wiſhed for*, under the preſent circumſtances of our nature. Variety of opinions animate men with reſolution in making free and vigorous re-ſearches into things; they *improve* knowledge, and *cheriſh* inſtruction. Beſides, as in government one party is a check upon another, and a warm oppoſition to the meaſures of thoſe who are of the greateſt weight and influence in the ſenate, *neceſſitates* them to maintain a *prudent jealouſy* over themſelves, leſt they countenance any tranſactions that may *juſtify* the

* See charge againſt popery, p. 52.

the oppoſition that is forming againſt them; and *awaken* the reſentments of a free people. Were it not for ſuch happy ſtruggles, no nation would be ſafe from being *ſwallowed up* by the *arbitrarineſs*, *avarice*, or *ambition* of men of corrupt diſpoſition. So is it the ſame as to our *religious* diſputes and conteſts. Were it not owing to theſe, would not *creeds* and *eſtabliſhments* ſoon triumph over *ſenſe*, *honeſty*, and *conſcience*? the only religion *in faſhion*, would be on the one ſide, to *conſecrate* tyranny, and on the other to *worſhip* bondage. Where *free thinking* has been baniſhed from a country, and *eſtabliſhed ſtandards* of orthodoxy ſettled in its room, *mimicry* has always paſſed for *virtue*, and *ridiculous errantry* for *divine grace*. Nay, often it has been counted equally *enthuſiaſtic*, to decry *forms of godlineſs*, and *forms of prayer*, and *puppet-ſhew devotions* have atoned for the want of *rational worſhip* and *obedience*. But it ſeems, according to your lordſhip, to *explode prieſtcraft* and *ſuperſtition*, is to weaken the *force of religion*. If *differences* in ſentiments and opinions are ſo injurious to Chriſtianity, is it not a high reflection upon the ſupreme being, that he has treated mankind with *different* intellectuals, features, capacities and endowments? is it not a high reflection on the wiſdom and goodneſs of the deity, that we have an *agreeable variety* of cattle in our flocks, of herbs in our fields, and flowers in our gar-

dens? my lord, if your obſervation holds good, theſe muſt be ſo many *ſoleciſms in nature*. As for my own part, I think *too kindly* of my maker, to countenance ſuch *extravagant* imaginations. But it is neither my *province* nor *inclination* to make *creeds* for your lordſhip.

I ſhall not enter upon the enquiry, whether the epiſcopal part of our conſtitution (I preſume you mean dioceſan epiſcopacy, my lord) be "as an-"cient as Chriſtianity itſelf in this iſland:" I have ſometimes met with perſons who valued themſelves upon the character of *orthodox churchmen*, as *orthodox* perhaps, as your *lordſhip*, that have aſſerted our *book of common prayer* to be of much greater antiquity than the bible; and I make no queſtion, but they paid it a greater reverence and eſteem. But, my lord, as it cannot give any dignity to the *character of the devil*, that he was a murderer from *the beginning*, ſo any pleas of antiquity, admitting them to be fact, cannot *juſtify* error, tyranny, and uſurpation.—I therefore paſs by your remarks on the conſtitution of the primitive church, which you have aſſerted without the expence of any proof, ſince probably they may be as firmly believed when urged by your lordſhip, conſidering your "*diſtinguiſhing character*," without any proof at all.

* The

* The *Theodoſian* code is referred to, as an authority to ſhew that "the ancient Chriſtians believed that a public contempt of the Chriſtian "religion was puniſhable by human laws." Did Chriſt and his apoſtles believe ſo, my lord? did they teach ſuch doctrines to their followers and diſciples, or practiſe accordingly themſelves? why did not the author of our holy faith exert his miraculous power, command the ſword, famine, or peſtilence, to rage over the univerſe, and deſtroy all thoſe who would not ſubmit to his authority, or diſputed his miſſion? why did he not depopulate the earth for the honour of the God of heaven? why did he not puniſh thoſe *Jewiſh high-churchmen* that blaſphemed his religion, by attributing the miracles he wrought to the power of devils? why did he not countenance his diſciples, when they would have called down fire from heaven to conſume the heretical *Samaritans?* Nay, why, my lord, did he not erect ſtar-chambers and high-commiſſion courts, eſtabliſh laws for pecuniary fines and impriſonments, aſſemble ſynods and convocations, excommunicate and conſign over all thoſe to the mercy of eccleſiaſtics and the devil, who had honeſty enough to examine into things; and reſolution enough to publiſh the reſult of their enquiries.——But I will

* See charge 1. p. 31.

preſs this no farther.——It is enongh, that he was not adviſed by your lordſhip.——I know it has been urged, that projectors ſeldom accompliſh their views, but poſterity reaps the ſweet fruits of their labours. But, my lord, you will not approve of any reflections ſo injurious to the character of the *wiſe* and *benevolent* author of the Chriſtian religion.

The next remark I ſhall offer, relates to what you obſerve *, that nonconformiſts "profeſs a "*form* of the Chriſtian religion." I agree, that in *point of prudence* we ought to reverence moderate conformity to the humours of the church and women. But is there nothing but a *form* of religion amongſt thoſe who think otherwiſe, my lord? do honeſty and virtue degenerate into *mere form*, unleſs they are conſecrated by eſtabliſhments? are love to the Deity, and benevolence to our fellow-creatures of no value unleſs they have the ſtamp of *church-orthodoxy* upon them? will you ſuggeſt that there are no friends to piety and to mankind among diſſenters? in *point of prudence* conceal ſuch ſentiments, my lord!

The biſhop of *London*'s *codex* is recommended to your clergy †, "to whom the church of *England* "is extremely obliged, as on other important occa-"ſions, ſo particularly for that eminent ſervice done "by him in his moſt elaborate work, the code "of

* See charge 1. p. 33. † 1. charge p. 35.

" of the *Engliſh* eccleſiaſtical law; together with his " very judicious introductory diſcourſe concern- " ing the preſent ſtate of the power, diſcipline, " and laws of the church of *England*;——a " work which muſt be ever conſidered as a ſtan- " dard by all competent judges." How far I might chime with you in your notions, were I as well paid for defending them as your lordſhip, I cannot tell: But I muſt expreſs my own ſentiments frankly, perhaps you will urge I have no *intereſt* in view, and therefore—can be no competent judge of the matter. This celebrated ſtandard has been juſtly deemed an *inſult* upon the laws of the nation, and if it eſcapes the notice of the *legiſlature*, it muſt be, becauſe it is *too contemptible* to deſerve it. I expect this remark will procure many eccleſiaſtical *anathema's*; but aſſure yourſelf, my lord, I lay no greater ſtreſs upon a *pope's curſe*, than I do upon a *biſhop's bleſſing*. But allowing this *ſpiritual attorney*, all the merit aſcribed to him by your lordſhip,—yet is not the Chriſtian church in general obliged to him, as well as the church of *England?* or has he done no further ſervice to Chriſtianity, than in conſtituting church-laws, and repreſenting church-power as independent and boundleſs.—My lord, I have a greater veneration for our church, than to conſider ſuch exorbitant claims as calculated, to give it any real dignity,

however they may aggrandize its authority. But as there is "ſcarce honeſty enough in the nation, "according to your lordſhip, to ſave it from "downright ruin," no wonder there ſhould be a ſet of men that are zealous in betraying virtue, as well as * virtue's friends, and all under the ſpecious pretence of acting for the *good of the church.*

It is allowed, the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution has "ſome leſſer deficiencies, and if the preſent age "were ſuitable to ſo great a work as that of a "review, carried on by men of temper and can-"dour, without prejudices and reſentment, it "might be brought to the higheſt perfection on "the preſent foundation, that the nature of the "thing is capable of ‡." I muſt beg leave to expoſtulate here with your lordſhip. Is not our national eſtabliſhment *derived from the primitive church*, p. 31, and yet ſubject to *leſſer deficiencies*? if ſo, why are we required to pay ſuch an abſolute reverence to its dictates and authority? or is that now become a human conſtitution, which in p. 19, was *divine and heavenly?* but perhaps it will be urged, that it is both *perfectly human*, and *perfectly divine*, like the chimerical exiſtence ſet forth in a ſpurious celebrated creed; though like that too, it

* See the reaſons of the oppoſition to Dr. *Rundle* conſidered.

‡ 1 charge, p. 36.

it is—neither made nor begotten in the reaſon of things, but proceeding from fooliſh inventions. Why is not the preſent age ſuitable to ſo great a work as that of a review? have we no men of candour and temper amongſt us! may I be allowed to aſk, without any imputation of flattery, what muſt the world conclude of *your lordſhip?* what account can be given of the *venerable bench*, and the *whole body of the prieſthood?* all hypocrites and bigots.—No, my lord, we have perſons of the greateſt worth and learning that adorn our church, and do honour to the nation; men that are not *afraid* of eſpouſing the principles of *liberty*, nor *aſhamed* of being *honeſt*. But, perhaps you will urge that theſe are the very men that bring the church into danger.

But however mean an opinion your lordſhip may form of eccleſiaſtics, muſt the laity be branded with the ſame marks of ignominy and ſcandal? ſhall a *Britiſh houſe of commons* be arraigned as conſtituted of perſons of no honour or integrity,—as tyrants, ſlaves, or villains?——But I aſk pardon, it is the church's *diſtinguiſhing character*, to be not only *exempt from*, but *above* all lay-power, and juriſdiction. I appeal to yourſelf as to this, and humbly propoſe whether being refuſed the liberty to confirm in a *certain regal peculiar*, in the county of *Salop*, did not give *great*, I will not ſay *juſt* offence to your lordſhip? but I wave this, to make way

way for a ſubject more agreeable to your lordſhip's taſte, — the *parochial rights* of *tithes* and *glebe-lands*. It is obſervable, as remarked before, that how contemptible ſoever the *rights of conſcience* and the *Chriſtian church* are treated, *parochial rights* engage your lordſhip's particular regard. Infidels ſcoff, and cry if the clergy can but ſecure their *tithes*, *truth* may ſhift for herſelf. However, let tithes and glebes be inviolably preſerved: I would not apply to them, what your lordſhip doth to * *Chriſtianity*, that they are an uſurpation on the rights of mankind. But, my lord, it is an *eſtabliſhed opinion*, and I know you highly reverence *notions* that are *eſtabliſhed*, that you might have recommended to your *clergy*, many more uſeful and inſtructive leſſons. But the caſe ſtands thus, the loſs of a *tithe-pig*, or an *eaſter-offering*, will make the church *totter*, and *ſhake* its *mighty* foundations. Any one who takes a view of the numberleſs vexations and ſcandalous proſecutions that have from time to time been carried on about ſmall tithes, will agree with me, that to recommend the ſtudy of the goſpel of peace, would have been much more ſeaſonable, though perhaps not ſo acceptable, a ſubject as the ſtudy of parochial rights and power. Who knows not that it is ſafer to truſt an orphan to the guardianſhip of a hungry miſer, a man's carcaſe within the paws of a hungry lion, than to truſt

* See Charge 1. p. 21.

truſt a weak ſcrupulous conſcience about tithes, to the mercy of a legion of *hungry ravening* eccleſiaſtics?

But having left the church in full poſſeſſion of her legal rights, we are next to enquire after her patrimony. There are, it ſeems, * "many impropriations in your lordſhip's dioceſe, and the "church's patrimony has been alienated." But what church's, my lord? the church of *England*'s or of *Rome*'s? a proteſtant or a popiſh church's? you will not pretend that impropriations were the patrimony of our mother-church? they never belonged to her; nor can I account, my lord, for your aſcertaining a title to them, upon any other footing than this;—That as the church of *Rome* is no more in this land, your lordſhip lays claim to her poſſeſſions by right of inheritance, as being next of kin. But, notwithſtanding your "*diſtinguiſhing character*," and the *divinity* of uninterrupted ſucceſſion, the *entail* is cut off, to your diſappointment, my lord.

Why are not the like complaints uſhered, that *infallibillity* has been diſclaimed and rejected? your lordſhip's pretenſions may hold equally ſtrong as to both. It is almoſt needleſs to remark, that this glorious patrimony was the fruit of *eccleſiaſtical knavery* and *oppreſſion*. The prieſts enriched themſelves

* Charge 1. p. 38.

themſelves upon the *ſpoils* of honeſty and virtue, compounded with *aſſaſsins*, *cut throats*, or *robbers*, to pardon all their ſins for a rich legacy to the church; and thus the *reverend deceivers* ſoon found trafficing in ſalvation to be a gainful trade, as the polite Dr. *Young* has expreſſed it.

——*Dying ſinners, to blot out their ſcore,*
Bequeathed the church the leavings of a whore.
Univerſal Paſſion.

The alienation of what your lordſhip calls the patrimony of the church, is well known to be the main pillar of the reformation. And would you propoſe that all the lands engroſſed by the church before the time of King *Henry* VIII. ſhould be reſtored to it again? be *conſiſtent*, my lord, though we diſclaim *popiſh ſuperſtitions*, ſtand up for an *Engliſh infallibility*, and courts of inquiſition, and eſtabliſh an hierarchy, reſembling that of *Rome* in all its ſcenes of *pompous villany* and *horrors*. Let the church's patrimony be appropriated to the original intention. Let the clergy enjoy all the *lands* and *ladies* in *Great-Britain*; and as to *honeſty* and *conſcience*, let them take their fate! none can judge this repreſentation to be foreign to what you have advanced, if it is compared with what

what follows, that it is *abſolutely neceſſary*, to preſerve and defend ſmall tithes. How *abſolutly neceſſary*, my lord? doth the happineſs of mankind, the growth of virtue and knowledge, depend upon an oppreſſive exactneſs in collecting of tithes? be the *ſubſiſtence* of vicars dependent upon them, yet, my lord, *chriſtianity* may *ſubſiſt* without them. If impropriations are the patrimony of the church, then of conſequence the legiſlature concerned in ſuch alienation, were guilty of notorious ſacrilege and high-treaſon againſt the clergy, in robbing them of their conſecrated dues.——But I forbear.—— It is enough that your lordſhip diſapproves of the doctrines of the *Romiſh* church as *unſound* and *heterodox*; yet it ſeems there is a deal of *orthodoxy* in her treaſures. Permit me to enquire, my lord, what kept the world ſo long in *awful ignorance* and *darkneſs?* was it not the patrimony of the church? what has been the *parent* of *bigotry*, and *nurſed ſuperſtition* throughout many ſucceſſive ages? what has been the *foundation* of *prieſtcraft*, *idolatry*, and *error?* what has made *light darkneſs*, and *good evil?* ſtill this *ſolemn thing*, the patrimony of the church, my lord. What has made *liberty unfaſhionable*, and *mobs venerable and ſacred?*—— Is it not the patrimony of the church, that gave birth to all this, my lord?

But may it pleaſe you, to conſider, how foreign thoſe inſtructions are to thoſe delivered by Chriſt and

and his apoſtles? and yet, notwithſtanding all this, a church, without patrimony, in your lordſhip's eſtimation, like a fair lady without fortune, loſes all her charms: and in both caſes alike, neither to be wedded for her engaging accompliſhments, but for the ſake of profuſe wealth and dowry.— However, admitting it *abſolutely neceſſary* to preſerve tithes, yet I believe few will imagine it *abſolutely neceſſary* to inculcate this upon the minds of the clergy. Nay, my lord, many think it *abſolutely neceſſary* to have laws enacted to reſtrain your *little eccleſiaſtical pettyfoggers* from carrying on litigious and ſcandalous proſecutions. will your lordſhip recommend the conduct of an *apoſtate angel*, to the imitation of the ſacred prieſthood, and call upon them to caſt men into § priſon? are *augmentation offices*, my lord, the great charters of our faith and worſhip? or are theſe the *divinities in faſhion*, and as ſuch worſhipped by a ſet of men, whoſe *diſtinguiſhing character* is (for ſurely we may believe your lordſhip) on all other occaſions, to expect adoration paid to themſelves †?

I ſhall make no remarks on what is hinted by your lordſhip relating to church-donations. The legiſlature has wiſely checked the progreſs of all prieſtly juggling and impoſture from this quarter, and put an end to the churches being pampered with the heritage of oppreſſions!—But amongſt all

§ Rev. ii. 10. † See 2 Charge, p. 54.

all the curious reflections that both your lordſhip's charges abound with, nothing ſurprizes me ſo much, as to ſee it aſſerted by a *divine*, a *biſhop* of our church ‡, that the times are ſo *extreamly bad* that there is *ſcarce honeſty enough* left to ſave the nation from *downright ruin*. The higheſt compliment I can beſtow upon this occaſion, is, that you were not *in earneſt* when you delivered this. However, let us examine into the matter. As the *ſpiritual commiſſioners*, (I will not ſay of trade, for that would be ſinking them into a level with the governors of other ſocieties, amongſt whom I hope *the principles*† *of honeſty are common)* but as the *ſpiritual commiſſioners* of heaven claim our higheſt regard, we will begin our remarks there. What will your lordſhip repreſent the whole body of the clergy to be? what will become of the whole *cavalry* of the church, archbiſhops, biſhops and deans; prebends, archdeacons, vicars, apparitors, and curates? have they done nothing to promote the intereſt of virtue? or have they corrupted the world, palmed ſuperſtition on mankind for religion, and mimicry for chriſtian worſhip? are all their pretenſions to piety only prieſtcraft and hypocriſy? and doth the matter in fact ſtand thus, that there is *little honeſty* amongſt them? is their *zeal* for the church, their *ſolemn*

‡ 1 Charge. p. 41. † See 2 Charge, p. 58.

ſolemn ſubſcriptions to its articles, their liſting themſelves into its ſervice, only the offſpring of ſelf-intereſt? what regard can kings pay to their *oaths*, the *laity* to their *preaching*, and the *world* to their *function*, if their *diſtinguiſhing character* be this, that there is *ſcarce any honeſty* amongſt them? what are all the outward appearances of devotion, faſting, and prayer, by which our church is eminently diſtinguiſhed? is there nothing in all this, my lord, but a trick of the prieſt to get money? are they only *devout* out of *knavery*, and do they worſhip the Almighty not for *grace* but *gold?* if ſo, of what mighty importance are *fulſome panegyrics*, on the ſanctity of national churches? a *commiſſioned prieſthood* that doth not reform the world, is a *diſgrace* to chriſtianity, and an *inſult* upon common ſenſe. Wherever *ſolemn cheats* are impoſed upon the public, and virtually confeſſed to be of no ſervice to the country, it is a bleſſing to have ſuch rogueries detected, and it is a piece of juſtice to puniſh the *abettors* of them, as ſo many ſtroling conjurers and vagrants. A church without *honeſty*, like a proſtitute without *ſhame* or *virtue*, may betray innocence and ſeduce multitudes into ruin, but can never be uſeful to any ſtate or nation. However, theſe are the natural and juſt conſequences of the principles laid down by your lordſhip, that there is ſcarce "honeſty "enough in the nation to ſave it from downright

"ruin

" ruin." It is allowed, there will be knaves and fools in all profeſſions. However I muſt differ from you, my lord, and maintain that we have many excellent and learned divines belonging to our church, whoſe characters and accompliſhments are as illuſtrious as their ſtations. I could give a catalogue, but I know it would offend your lordſhip's modeſty to be inſerted amongſt them, and therefore ſhall decline the taſk.——In the next place, in what views muſt the *Engliſh* laity be painted? I muſt repeat the queſtion. Muſt the majority of a *Britiſh houſe of commons* be ſtigmatized as men of no honeſty? are the guardians of our liberties, the gentry of the nation, enemies to truth and virtue? are there not thouſands and ten thouſands in this kingdom, in lower ſpheres of life, who behave very worthily in their ſtations? yes, my lord, we have plowmen, that in their capacity are as ſerviceable to their country, as biſhops? ———I am apprized, my lord, it is the *faſhion* to deem all thoſe *infidels* who cannot ſee the reaſonableneſs of high churchmen's opinions; yet I am ſo weak as to believe the times are not ſo bad as your lordſhip repreſents them. I cannot pretend to form a judgment what character *that part of mankind* deſerves, which your lordſhip is moſt converſant with; but ſhall ſtill maintain this, that there is more honeſty in the nation now, than in former ages, when *eccleſiaſtics*

ſiaſtics were our *rulers*, and when *tyranny* was *licenſed* from the throne. However, I am ſorry that a perſon of your lordſhip's character and reputation has the misfortune, according to your own account, to be acquainted with few**** but ſuch as are—abandoned miſcreants and villains.

I muſt confeſs, my lord, when I have heard ſome *rigid fanatics* of different denominations, pouring out their ſpleen and invectives againſt nature, urging that their iniquities were entailed upon them by their fathers; and not only that they were *knaves*, which perhaps none ever diſputed, but that they were *knaves* by *their very extraction*; it has given me a very mean idea of the abettors of ſuch principles and notions. I cannot conceive why ſuch *diſhonourable* and *low* ſentiments ſhould be entertained of human nature, unleſs it be that the authors of them have converſed among the loweſt part of their ſpecies; or otherwiſe are perſons of no virtue or character themſelves. It is natural enough to form an opinion of others from thoſe diſpoſitions that are moſt prevalent and commanding in ourſelves.—It cannot be imagined, that this latter ſhould be the caſe as to your lordſhip.

But, my lord, as the hard name of infidels and heretics have been oft aukwardly applied to diſcountenance free enquiries into truth, ſo many will judge, that it is no more than an artful bugbear, to ſuggeſt that there is ſcarce any honeſty in

in the nation. Your lordſhip will not preſume to deny that we have wiſe governors and rulers: the laity no longer hug their chains: they dare think for themſelves, without ſolliciting leave of the clergy. But perhaps it might be your lordſhip's opinion that it is owing to *want of honeſty*, that *laymen* ever think at all. It is their duty not to puzzle themſelves with reaſon, but to obey their ſpiritual guides, and implicitly ſubmit to their directions.

The danger of the church calls afreſh for our regard*, "the tithe-bill, and what is connected "with it, the fate of the Chriſtian religion," ſhould awaken our fears, and alarm all our paſſions.—It is well known that *tacking bills* have been as faſhionable as ſcandalous in the ſtate, and now it ſeems ſomething of the ſame nature muſt be introduced into religion. *The tithe bill* and the *fate of Chriſtianity connected!* wherein doth *Chriſtianity* conſiſt? is it not in reverence to the deity, in ſocial virtue and goodneſs? and cannot theſe ſubſiſt without *tithes*, nay, without *any prieſthood* at all? in primitive times there were no ſtipends annexed to preaching, and yet Chriſtianity triumphed over *high-church prieſts* and *heatheniſm*, and made a victorious progreſs. But has it gained ground proportionable to the increaſe of church-wealth

* Charge 1. p. 42.

wealth and power? the very reverſe, my lord. When Chriſtian prieſts became pampered with pride and luxury, and grew inſolent in tyranny, religion ſtarved, and piety loſt ground in proportion. It is obſervable, as the immortal *Milton* has expreſſed it; "that ſo long as the church, in true "imitation of Chriſt, can be content to ride upon "an aſs, carrying herſelf and her Government "along in a mean and ſimple guiſe, ſhe may be, "as he is, a lion of the tribe of *Judah*, and in her "humility, all men with loud Hoſannahs will "confeſs her greatneſs; but when, deſpiſing the "mighty operation of the ſpirit by the weak "things of this world, ſhe thinks to make her-"ſelf bigger and more conſiderable, by uſing the "way of civil force and juriſdiction, as ſhe ſits "upon this lion ſhe changes into an aſs, and "inſtead of Hoſannahs, every man pelts her with "ſtones and dirt." And indeed, to be plain, my lord, though men of conſecrated character have the privilege to ſay what they pleaſe, yet ſhould laymen ever repreſent the church as *independent of all ſecular authority*, they would be deemed *accompliſhed aſſes*, were it not——that they are in danger of *loſing their ears!*

"*The *important out-works* of our eccleſiaſtical "eſtabliſhment, the *corporation* and *teſt-acts*," next

* Charge 1. p. 42.

next open to our view. I never fully diſcovered the reaſon before, why our church is always in danger. In danger it will be always, my lord, unleſs fixed upon a moreſolid baſis and foundation. It is an undutiful reflection from a ſon of the church, that has been nurſed with tenderneſs in her boſom, and ſhared in her choiceſt bleſſings, to ſuggeſt that ſhe cannot maintain her ground without invading the rights of mankind. Is the authority of the church to be ſupported not by dint of reaſon, but by oppreſſive tyrannical power? Mahometiſm and Popery will of courſe rival her in all her glories. My lord, it is beneath the character of a wiſe maſter builder to inſinuate, that *church-architecture* is never ſafe without ſuch *political ſcaffolds* and buttreſſes to erect and ſupport it. Will your lordſhip confeſs no divinity but power, and pay homage to no God but that of riches? why ſo much buſtle then about the *ſacredneſs* of church-rights? your lordſhip has cleared up the matter. *Sampſon's riddle*, when applied to this, carries along with it no *myſtery* at all. Out of the *eater* comes forth *meat*, and out of the *ſtrong* comes forth *ſweetneſs*.

But, my lord, are theſe *important out-works* of the eſtabliſhment, of any importance in recommending virtue and Chriſtian ſincerity? how prepoſterous would ſuch a declaration as this appear! —I ſolemnly commemorate the ſufferings of my

redeemer, with a view not to improve my morals, but to be qualified for a poſt—in the church or army. No wonder, my lord, if infidels ridicule Chriſtianity, when church men themſelves thus avowedly blaſpheme one of its moſt ſolemn inſtitutions: It is ſhocking to ſee ſuch flagrant and ſcandalous wickedneſs encouraged. But I have ſo great a veneration for the orthodox ſons of the church, that I would not put ſuch an affront upon their honeſty, as to imagine that they are ſincere, when they repreſent the receiving the euchariſt, as a duty of great ſolemnity and importance. Did they *believe* this, they would at leaſt rival the piety of—your lordſhip can tell whom, and *tremble* at ſuch an infamous proſtitution of it, to ſerve ambitious and worldly views. The corporation and teſt-acts are the *important outworks of the eſtabliſhment* in the ſame ſenſe as racks, inquiſitions, the doctrines of infallibility, penances, pilgrimages, and abſolutions, are the *important out-works* of another communion. They are calculated to eſtabliſh craft, to give ſanction to ſuperſtition, and raiſe up a kingdom of tyrannical prieſts upon the *ruins* of *Chriſt*'s *church* and *Kingdom*.

I leave your lordſhip to give a full looſe to your pathetic viſionary fears, in the ſucceding pages, concerning the diſtreſs and danger of the church. Lord, pity the miſerable creature that has

has lain under ſuch bitter anguiſh and affliction. Reſtore health, ignorance, and infallibility amongſt all her ſons. Propogate tyranny, eſtabliſh confuſion in the land. Let liberty ſicken, let virtue die, and the church will for ever live and reign in peace. Let your lordſhip ſay *amen* to this, and let all good churchmen bleſs you, and thoſe of your lordſhips principles, as the Saviour of their church and nation.

As * *Pamela*'s addreſs to an heathen deity, was canonized by the adoption of the *royal martyr*; ſo I make no queſtion, if this prayer ſhould be adopted by *your lordſhip*, but that it would be counted orthodox, not only by all *your friends*, but likewiſe by all the *profeſſed enemies* to his preſent majeſty's government and adminiſtration. To ſhew with what propriety it may be uſed by you, I ſhall tranſcribe at length a few paſſages that contain a lively image of your lordſhip's zeal for the church †.

" At ſo critical a juncture, when common Chri-
" ſtianity is treated with an avowed contempt
" and open prophaneneſs; when an undiſguiſed
" immorality prevails ſo very generally; when
" there is ſcarce honeſty enough left to ſave the

 " nation

* A prayer uſed by an imaginary Lady, in Sir *P. S. Arcadia*, and uſed by King *C.* as his own, in the famous *Eikon Baſilike*.

† Charge 1. p. 41.

" nation from downright ruin; when, with re-
" gard to the eſtabliſhed church in particular,
" the royal ſupremacy, is profeſſedly expoſed as
" inconſiſtent with the rights of conſcience, even
" that ſupremacy, which was the ground-work
" of the reformation among us from popery,
" which was acknowledged and ſworn to by the
" old *puritans* themſelves, though now inconſiſt-
" ently enough diſowned and condemned in the
" new hiſtory and vindication of them and their
" principles; and that too, after a toleration had
" been allowed to the preſent diſſenters, which
" was not to the *puritans*; when ſo deſtructive an
" attempt has been made on the legal mainten-
" ance of the clergy, as the late tithe-bill, and
" conſequently on the ſubſiſtence of the prieſt-
" hood, and what is connected with it, I mean,
" the fate of the Chriſtian religion amongſt us;
" when an attack has been ſo lately made on the
" important out-works of our eccleſiaſtical eſta-
" bliſhment, the corporation and teſt-acts,
" with the greateſt inſolence toward the eſta-
" bliſhed church, and moſt undutiful menaces of
" the civil government, in the controverſial pam-
" phlets on that ſubject; when, under the ſolemn
" pretence of reforming the abuſes of the eccleſi-
" aſtical courts, all epiſcopal authority has ſo
" lately been well-nigh undermined, or rather cut
" up by the roots, in that ſcheme of reforma-
" tion,

" tion, as it was originally formed: and if that
" order had been rendered uſeleſs, as no doubt
" it would have been, though when ſtripped of all
" authority, it is natural to infer, that the reve-
" nues of it would have been ſoon thought uſeleſs
" too, to men deprived of all real authority;
" and that therefore the order itſelf, in reſult
" of things, might have been conſidered as ſuper-
" fluous, and perhaps in due time, thought fit
" to be aboliſhed as inſignificant: when, again,
" churches themſelves, the great inſtruments of
" preſerving ſome ſenſe of religion among us,
" have lately been put in ſuch a method of repairs,
" as probably would have ended in the irretrievable
" ruin of the greater part of them in no long
" period of time: when, likewiſe, the correction
" of abuſes of matrimonial licences is well
" known to have been laboured in ſo abſurd a
" manner, as to have permitted the marriage of
" minors of each ſex, without the conſent of their
" parents or guardians; though the late pretended
" reformation of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, was
" originally founded on an irregular marriage,
" and an abſurd licence: when, once more,
" to compleat ſo bad a proſpect, the propoſed re-
" formation of epiſcopal juriſdiction, has derived
" its origin from ſome perſons that have profeſſed
" no ſmall zeal for the church of *England*, but
" who have not diſdained to copy after the avowed

" adverſaries of the church, in the beginning of " the times of confuſion: when the melancholly " circumſtances, I ſay, have ſo lately concurred, " (the conſequences of which, are not perhaps, ſo " generally underſtood by the parochial clergy, " in parts remote from the great ſcene of buſineſs, " as they ought to be) it is natural to infer from " the whole, that our zeal for the eſtabliſhed " church, ought to bear a juſt proportion to the " danger of its preſent ſituation; as likewiſe, " its conſtitution, in conſequence of the moſt " diligent enquiries into the grounds and founda- " tion of it. If theſe are not proper occaſions for " zeal for our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, it is not " eaſy to aſſign circumſtances that may juſtly de- " mand it."

Surely, my lord, *Cain*'s *curſe* has been entailed upon the church in theſe latter ages.—Every one that finds me will *ſlay* me.——I will not pretend to ſay, that it is for the ſame reaſon, becauſe it delights in bloodſhed and lordly lawleſs juriſdiction, where it has no right to exert any authority at all. But, my lord, it may be neither uninſtructive nor unentertaining, to take a view how this *eccleſiaſtical ſhuttle-cock*, the danger of the church, has been played about on different and repeated occaſions. The danger of the church was warmly urged to bring the glorious revolution into diſgrace; the danger of the church was pleaded againſt the act

of

of toleration, for weak and ſcrupulous conſciences.——The danger of the church was likewiſe the foundation of the ſchiſm-bill; the danger of the church betrayed the brave *Catalans*, and patched up the ſcandalous peace of *Utrecht*.—The danger of the church was at the head of the *Preſton* rebellion; and the danger of this tottering unweildy fabric has nurſed all the rude inſolencies offered to his preſent majeſty's government, whom may God long preſerve. About the thirtieth of *January* the church is yearly in more imminent danger, as has been obſerved by Sir *Richard Steele*, in his incomparable *letter to the Pope**. A *treatiſe* I would recommend to the frequent and diligent peruſal of your lordſhip. But one would think, from the continuance of that *anniverſary*, that God almighty pays but ſmall regards to the cries and prayers of the church, and that the prieſts, whatever intereſt they may have on earth, have but little in heaven; inaſmuch that they have been praying near a hundred years, for the forgiveneſs of one ſin, and yet by God, as well as men, unforgiven ſtill; for ſolemn *party rage*, and *party prayers*, are yet annually obſerved on the occaſion.

In the year 1705, the complaints of the danger of the church ſpread abroad to diſtract the kingdom with unreaſonable and groundleſs diſtruſts and jealouſies, incurr'd a ſevere cenſure from the

* The letter here referred to, was written by Dr. *Hoadly*, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

legiſlature of the nation, and "it was reſolved, "by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and com- "mons in parliament aſſembled, that the church "of *England*, as by law eſtabliſhed, which was "reſcued from the extremeſt danger, by King "*William* the third, of glorious memory, is now, "by God's bleſſing, under the happy reign of her "preſent majeſty, in a moſt ſafe and flouriſhing "condition; and that whoſoever goes about to "ſuggeſt the church is in danger under her "majeſty's adminiſtration, is an enemy to the "queen, the church, and the kingdom."—— You dare not ſuggeſt, my lord, but that our preſent gracious ſovereign, is as cordial and ſincere a friend to the church as the late Queen *Anne*. Should your lordſhip's outcries therefore, of the church's danger, be deemed worthy of parliamentary notice, muſt you not expect in parliamentary language, to be marked out as an *enemy* to his majeſty, the church, and the kingdom? would you not be attainted with *propagating* faction, and *promoting* unreaſonable and groundleſs diſtruſts and jealouſies among the king's liege ſubjects? is this the commiſſion, my lord, that you have been entruſted with from heaven? or this the *diſtinguiſhing character* which is your boaſted claim? if ſo, let it be deſpiſed, let it be unenvied, but let it never be imitated by any true proteſtants, or any ſincere

lovers

lovers of their country. According to your lordſhip, it is dangerous to attempt any further reformations in the church, though you acknowledge ſuch reformations are wanting. You allow there are leſſer deficiencies in our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, and yet the remedying of theſe ought not to be attempted. Such inconſiſtent, innovating ſchemes can never do honour to Chriſtianity; and though they may take with the beſotted part of the nation, ſuch as are enthuſiaſts for craft and power, yet they will meet with a juſter fate from all men of ſound reaſon and ſober underſtandings.

I find it is aſſerted by your lordſhip, "that the "*profeſſed friends* of the church, are entring into a "conſpiracy againſt it". I cannot appropriate the honour of this remark, ſolely to your lordſhip.—I have oft heard as much from a *tumultuous rabble at* country elections *. "Some "perſons that have profeſſed no ſmall zeal for the "church of *England*, have not diſdained to copy af-"ter the *avowed adverſaries* of the church, in the "beginning of the times of confuſion". Who were thoſe *avowed adverſaries*, my lord? *Hampden* and other illuſtrious patriots, whoſe names will engage a grateful reverence, when little pamphleteers, that deal about *common-place* rage and invective, will be either deſpiſed or forgotten.

* 1 Charge 44.

It is ſaid by your lordſhip, "foreign proteſtants "are not to be moleſted, but our diſſenting pro- "teſtants * at home, demand a very different "conduct." That is, according to your lordſhip, as we differ from them in our notions concerning the *importance* of ceremonies, and the *piety* of impoſitions, ſo neither ought we to be united with them in an amicable intercourſe, and charitable ſentiments as to other matters. Let our charity towards them extend no further than we are directed by ſelf-intereſt and advantage. Let them be painted as ſo many monſters in nature. Repreſent them in the ſame views as *infidels* do high-churchmen, a *pack of knaves* and *enthuſiaſts*. "But, † in *point of prudence*, "ſays your lordſhip, let us not give any juſt ſuſ- "picions of our diſguſt to the legal toleration of "them." In *point of prudence*, is this the higheſt pitch of your lordſhip's charity and religion? are your lordſhip's *regards for Chriſtianity aſleep?* or are the *divine rights* of tithes and epiſcopacy, the *only eſſentials* of your lordſhip's faith? *in point of prudence*, we are not to appear open advocates for perſecution.—*The times* will not bear this. ——The church is *ſick* and in danger, for we have a proteſtant prince on the throne, who will not be *jockeyed* by *eccleſiaſtics* out of the affections and liberties

* Charge 1. p. 46. † Ibid.

liberties of his ſubjects.—In *point of prudence*, we muſt ſit eaſy under theſe *melancholy* circumſtances, and not attempt to cruſh thoſe whom the *legiſlature believes* to be our *fellow creatures*. But, my lord, it requires no great degree of ſaintſhip to propheſy, what would be their *fate*, were it left to your lordſhip's *charitable deciſion*. Were it *prudential*, you would readily concur in the good work of *curſing* and *dragooning* theſe *heretics* into their right minds. Were it *prudential*, the act de *Hæretico comburendo* ſhould be publickly defended, and *Smithfield flames* ſhould never *ſleep or die*. I would gladly be informed, whether *prudentials* conſtitute the whole of your lordſhip's religion? whether our *loyalty*, like our *charity*, is to be carried on in *point of prudence*, my lord? whether it be not in *point of prudence*, only, that you ſwear *allegiance* to the king, and acknowledge the *royal ſupremacy*.—I would likewiſe ſubmit it to your lordſhip's judicious determination, whether *points of virtue*, of *honeſty*, of *conſcience*, ought to pay homage to *points of prudence*, or not? but perhaps your lordſhip may not think it a *point of prudence*, to give a determinate anſwer to this. In *point of prudence*, "we are not to give any juſt ſuſpicions, that we "envy or grudge them that indulgence allowed "them, of worſhipping God after their own man-"ner, and of enjoying without diſturbance, the "dictates of their own conſciences." I find, my

lord, our diſſenting proteſtants are juſt as much indebted to your lordſhip, as good Chriſtians are to him whoſe *diſtinguiſhing character* is, that he ſeeks whom he may devour. They are in no danger from him, becauſe—he is not in a capacity to hurt or deſtroy them. In *point of prudence*, we are not to *hang* or *burn* them for ſaying their prayers, though *our aſſiduity* in collecting *church tithes*, ſhould allow us no time to *pray* ourſelves. But if they decry eſtabliſhments, were it in our power, vengeance and blood ſhould purſue them! let the *ſword* be girt on, and *ſheath* it in their gore and bowels! theſe are the natural conſequences of your lordſhip's zeal.

But, it ſeems, they are ſo fond of power, or poſts of authority, as to labour at breaking down the fences of the eſtabliſhed church, and thereby place themſelves on a level with the national eſtabliſhment, on occaſion of merely ſecular matters that are confeſſedly foreign to our religious pretenſions *. How can Chriſtianity ſuffer if thoſe fences were broken down, that your lordſhip acknowledges to be of no importance to religion? but, it ſeems, luſts after power and poſts of authority, though foreign to *religious pretenſions*, yet are ſo far from being *foreign*, that they are *eſſential* to the character of a *good churchman*.

Though

* Charge 1. p. 42.

Though weak *fanatics* may diſcover an avowed contempt of ſecular matters, when they ſtand in competition with their duty, yet I am ſtill willing to believe, that you will not admit ſecular matters to be foreign to *your lordſhip*'s *religious pretenſions*. The reader will agree with me, when he reflects on what you have aſſerted on *tithe-bills* and the *fate of Chriſtianity*, being immediately and neceſſarily connected. According to this, the property of the Almighty ought to be transferred to his *vicegerents*; the *earth*, and the *fullneſs thereof*, ſhould be no longer the *lord*'s, but the *clergy*'s.

How far the government "has exerted itſelf in "quaſhing the *tithe bill* and *corporation* and *teſt-* "*acts*," is none of my buſineſs to conſider. If in fact it be ſo, I preſume, my lord, they do not think themſelves much obliged to you for the diſcovery; and perhaps they would not, in *point of prudence*, truſt your lordſhip with a *ſecret*, as ſoon as a *tranſlation*.

"Our zeal for the conſtitution of the national "church, ought to be accompanied with charity "toward thoſe who unhappily diſſent from it:" yes, in *point of prudence*, my lord, I ſhall not enter into the reaſon that obliged your lordſhip to take notice of the innovation complained of in your dioceſe, with reference to the burial of the baptized

tized children of proteſtant diſſenters *, Nor ſhall I, at this time, take upon me to enquire, whether baptiſm was intended as a ſtanding diſpenſation in the Chriſtian church, or was to be of temporary duration. This is obvious to all, that the commiſſion given the apoſtles to baptize, extended no further than to themſelves. *I will be with you to the end of the world.* Will any one pretend that God Almighty has always been with the prieſthood, or that he has danced attendance upon a *corrupt tyrannical* clergy? this is certain, my lord, that *baptiſm* has oft been repreſented more like a charm, than a rational uſeful inſtitution. Some time ago, an orthodox divine in *your lordſhip's dioceſe too*, adminiſtring private baptiſm to an infant, the water was brought in a wooden bowl. The ceremony being concluded, the *reverend enthuſiaſt* took occaſion to addreſs the parent in the following manner: ſir, you are to underſtand, this bowl has been *conſecrated* by virtue of my *prieſtly authority and function.* It would be *ſacrilege* to defile it for any vulgar uſe and ſervice, and therefore, by way of prevention, I take the *liberty* to burn it. Accordingly he diſpoſed of the *wooden idol* and warmed himſelf by the fire his *zeal* had kindled. I preſume, my lord, had it been a ſilver bowl, he would have acted with a ſtill greater

* Charge 1. p. 49.

greater holy caution, and to preſerve it from pollution, would have taken the liberty to have *appropriated* it to *himſelf*, as a ſacred treaſure appertaining to the church.—I mention this, in *honour* of your lordſhip, to ſhew that the zeal you recommend for the church, has not been loſt upon your clergy.

Having conſidered many ſpecimens of your lordſhip's zeal, we are now arrived at *one* inſtance of your charity. It is granted by you, that baptized diſſenters are—Chriſtians. But what are we to underſtand by their being Chriſtians at large? are they poſſeſſed of more generous catholic principles, or a more benevolent character than thoſe who belong to our church and communion? or doth your lordſhip mean, that they are the droſs of nature, and the refuſe of the world. I promiſe to ſee this explained by your lordſhip, in a key to your charge, whenever the world is favoured with a ſecond edition of it.——You have entred into ſome particulars, to contribute to ſet ſcrupulous clergymen right. But this is to be effected in a more compendious way, than by dint of reaſoning and perſuaſion; a *ſcarf*, a *ring*, and a *funeral ſermon*, is an approved and infallible remedy, my lord, to remove the ſcruples of all *conſcientious vicars*, *curates*, or *biſhops*, concerning the lawfulneſs of burying proteſtant diſſenters in conſecrated clay,

clay. I flatter myſelf, that this preſcription will not fail of *your lordſhip*'s favourable recommendation.

I have the pleaſure to agree with you, my lord, that all encomiums of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, are vain and inſignificant things, unleſs we ſhew the great advantage of it in the influence it has on our lives and converſations. It doth not neceſſarily follow, that the ſons of the church are *heirs* of heaven, becauſe they *inherit* a great part of the *wealth* and *power* of the nation. Zeal for a hierarchy, is not always attended with common honeſty, much leſs is it an infallible token of divine grace. Nor doth it follow, that becauſe our names are inrolled in the regiſter, that therefore they are writ in the book of life. Your lordſhip well knows that conſecrated bricks, clay, and timber have been the *idol-divinities* of modern times. Epiſcopal benedictions have made ſtocks and ſtones as wiſe and holy, as thoſe who beſtowed the bleſſing upon them. A *religious reverence* has been paid to beings that have neither eyes to ſee, ears to hear, nor hearts to conceive; and not only they who *worſhip*, but they who *canonized them*, have been like unto them, and ſo is *every one* that *truſteth* in them. But, my lord, I would gladly be informed, whether the beauty of holineſs can conſiſt in things that have neither beauty nor holineſs in them. As it is the *people* that conſtitutes the *church*, ſo it is a *good people* that makes a *good church*, a *people orthodox in their lives*, that

makes

makes an *orthodox church*; though a low ſottiſh profligate deportment, is an *eſſential characteriſtic* of an *infallible church*; and whilſt the glorious pillars of it are ſober enough to *ſtand* upon their own limbs, their church will be in danger of *falling*. Where ſuch a ſpirit prevails, Chriſtianity muſt languiſh under its malignant and baneful influence. We may as ſoon expect the *devil* to turn *moraliſt*, or a *miſer* to be *charitable* and *honeſt*, as hope that a *prieſthood* ſhould *reform* the world, that are themſelves *profeſſed enemies* to the *principles* of *liberty* and *reformation*. The moſt elevated pretenſions to ſanctity, unleſs adorned by a ſuitable conduct, like the charms of a common proſtitute, loſe all their beauty and force.

Rather, therefore, my lord, than *conſecrate* tyranny with an *air of devotion*; rather than adopt *unchriſtian* uſurpations into our excellent church; rather than *metamorphoſe* the clergy into harpies, exert your zeal in recommending moral virtue, benevolence and charity, to their choice and eſteem. Let the language of the pulpit be peace and truth. Set an example before your brethren, firſt, to preach, and next of all, to preach not themſelves, but—Chriſt Jeſus. Convince them, my lord, that it will give a greater *dignity* to their character, to be miniſters of righteouſneſs, than to be the *pimps* of a faction, the *lacqueys* of infallibility, and the *promoters* of ſtrife and wrath. But your lordſhip is no friend to *innovations* in the church,

church, and therefore poſſibly may reject all this.

Many have been deemed enemies to the church, for no other reaſon, in the opinion of fallible men, than their attachment to uncorrupt Chriſtianity; and infidels have thought, that more have incurred the cenſure of *eccleſiaſtical damnation* for their honeſty, than for their want of grace. It is *poſſible*, nay, it is *common* to be a good churchman, without ever attending the ſervices of the church at all; and yet an *apoſtate* from the church, has been counted a more dreadful hydra, than an *apoſtate* from grace and goodneſs. I am led to theſe reflections, by what your lordſhip obſerves, that your adverſaries, that is, as you have explained yourſelf, thoſe who diſſent from us, are gone off from that *outward appearance* of ſanctity, and ſeverity of morals, with which thoſe of their party firſt ſet out, and *varniſhed* over the the cauſe of *puritaniſm*, and the ſubſequent ſeparation. If this remark ſhews any thing, beſides weakneſs and malice, it muſt be this,—that an *outward appearance* of ſanctity, a *mere varniſh* of piety, is all that your lordſhip thinks neceſſary to recommend to your clergy. But, my lord, doth it not betray the moſt accompliſhed partiality, that ſeverity of morals ſhould, on all former occaſions, be repreſented by men of your lordſhip's principles, as fanaticiſm and enthuſiaſm, and that the refinements of that party

party ſhould now be arraigned, as proceeding from want of zeal.

I muſt not forget to take notice of your lordſhip's charitable diſpoſition, in treating all thoſe as *your adverſaries*, who entertain any notions different from thoſe which are eſtabliſhed. Inſtead of ſaying we are brethren, why ſhould we fall out by the way? It is thought proper to kindle men's paſſions againſt them, and make them *eaſier ſacrifices* to the *zeal* and *devotion* of a mob. But, my lord, why are they counted adverſaries? do they hate biſhops?——No, they wiſh we had many more that—would be wiſe, faithful and honeſt. Do they declare againſt Chriſtianity?——No, they confeſs the bible to be the only infallible rule and ſtandard! do they decry a miniſtry in the church?—No, they oppoſe only thoſe who would lord it over God's heritage, and claim dominion over their faith. Do their clergy ſwear allegiance to the king, and as under God, the *ſupreme ruler of the church*; and yet place themſelves *on a level* with the *civil conſtitution* itſelf; nay, *independent* of all ſecular authority?—No, they have appeared hearty friends to the proteſtant government and ſucceſſion, without equivocation, and without reſerve; and, which is more, without any proſpect of raiſing themſelves to any epiſcopal dignities or honours! can theſe be your reaſons, why they

are

are treated as your adverſaries, my lord? I leave your lordſhip to determine this.——

I paſs by your complaints of the ill morals and infidelity of the age, as having been already conſidered, and proceed to conſider the characters you attribute to the clergy *. ——They are Chriſt's ambaſſadors.—It is with pleaſure I expreſs the high veneration I owe to worthy and learned clergymen, ſuch as appear to be perſons of candor, knowledge and integrity; and ſuch there be, who are an ornament to human nature. But in general, are not thoſe who profeſs themſelves miniſters of the Chriſtian diſpenſation, ſubject to like paſſions with others, as covetous, as tyrannical, as immoral, and as ignorant as others? are theſe Chriſt's ambaſſadors? as for my part, I entertain a higher notion of the author of the Chriſtian religion, than to believe that he would intruſt either fools or knaves with a ſolemn embaſſy and commiſſion, not to mention that thoſe whom your lordſhip repreſents as the *ambaſſadors of Chriſt*, and conſequently of *love* and *peace*, have frequently been the *promoters of diſcord*, and the *heralds* of *wrath* and *deſtruction*. Are they watchmen?—Let them watch over *ſouls* as well as *tithes!* and let them pray not for wealth, which is a bleſſing they enjoy in common with the reſt of mankind, but for truth

* Charge 1. p. 55.

truth and grace! are they *ſhepherds?*—Let them *feed* as well as *ſheer* their flocks, and let them not turn a houſe of prayers into a den of thieves, and gull men of their fortunes and underſtandings together! have they ſpiritual powers that are in *their own nature diſtinct from*, and *independent* of all civil authority?——Let them produce their credentials! who would have imagined *Hicks*, *Atterbury*, *Sacheverel*, and *Woolſton*, to have been the commiſſioners of heaven? but perhaps the laſt *forfeited* his *commiſſion*, by writing againſt your lordſhip; by declaring, that he loved and honoured the whole royal family, and that he prayed for them *without pay*; which, if we may believe an *infidel*, is more than any biſhop in the kingdom doth.

It ſeems, they are likewiſe the * *ſucceſſors of the apoſtles*;—ſome have thought them to be an illegitimate brood, that have no traces of their pretended fathers features; and though I cannot ſay they work for their livelihood, yet like many more of their faternity, they are obliged to the pariſh for a maintenance; or otherwiſe obtain *penſions* for keeping out of it, and reſiding any where but—where their duty calls them.

However, I muſt not omit tranſcribing a few paragraphs which have been already referred to, that

* Charge 2. p. 54, 55.

that may give further light into this matter. —— " * Agreeable to the ſpiritual commiſſion, we " have received from our *great maſter himſelf*, by " the *ſucceſſion* of his appointed church officers, " in ſo *many ages*, and by vindicating on all *pro-* " *per occaſions*, thoſe ſpiritual powers that have " been ſo derived, as in their own nature *diſtinct* " *from*, and *independent* of all ſecular authority. " Theſe we find are maligned by perſons that " either have no *juſt ſenſe* of any religion, or that " have no *pretence to thoſe powers by ſucceſſion*, " nor indeed by any thing but an *ill-founded*, and " frequently an *enthuſiaſtical* call; and therefore " no wonder they are ſo exaſperated againſt us, " when we *refuſe* to give up our *diſtinguiſhing cha-* " *racter*, and *ſink* ourſelves into a *level* with them. " The *ſceptical writers* on this ſubject, pretend " that we have derived our ſpiritual commiſſion, " through the *impure canal*, as they call it, of the " church of *Rome*, and therefore betray a ſtrong " diſpoſition to invalidate our orders." I would gladly be informed, my lord, what theſe rights of ſucceſſion are founded upon——I doubt it will appear to be according to firebrand *Tartuffe*'s account of the matter, the inſtrument of their power being thrown by *Phaeton*** —— I have

* Ibid

** *Into the ſea, the water has ſo damag'd it,*
That none but prieſts could ever read it ſince.

Paſquin

I have known a *cobler*, may it pleaſe your lordſhip, that could not earn bread by his trade, yet has been dubbed a prieſt in our church eſtabliſhed; and to do him juſtice, he *cobled divinity* as wretchedly as *old ſhoes*. Was this *your reverend brother*, my lord, within the line of ſucceſſion? if not, I ſuſpect there will be many more upon an equal footing. But allowing theſe *ſpiritual claimants* their pretenſions, yet what do they ſucceed the apoſtles in? it may be ſaid,—in their *unacquaintance* with human learning; but it is hoped none will pretend that they ſucceed them in the gifts of the ſpirit. They ſucceed likewiſe, in what the *apoſtles never had*,——ſome hundreds or thouſands a year. They ſucceed the apoſtles too in *thoſe very things* which *they honeſtly* rejected——lordly pride and prelatical juriſdiction. When *Paul* and *Barnabas* were repreſented as Gods, that came down in the likeneſs of men, they expreſſed a generous indignation at the miſtaken homage that was paid them. But their *ſucceſſors*, it ſeems, aſſume the *image of Gods*, and refuſe to give up this *diſtinguiſhing character*, ſo as to ſink themſelves into a level with men. They muſt be ſceptical with a witneſs, my lord, who dare preſume to call the *church* of *Rome*, that *holy infallible mother*, an impure canal, through which you derive your commiſſion? a church impure, that abounds with *pure unſophiſticated wines* and *gold!* theſe *ſceptical writers* are a *tribe of crazy enthuſiaſts*.

enthuſiaſts. It is an *impure canal*, as they call it, but *your lordſhip* knows better things.

Thus, my lord, as far as comported with my deſign, have I examined the moſt remarkable particulars in your *two charges to the clergy.* My view has been to do honour to *Chriſtianity*, and as far as is *conſiſtent therewith*, to your *lordſhip.* What has been advanced, proceeds from the moſt ſacred regard to liberty, to virtue, and to mankind. If, my lord, you ſhould think it neceſſary to have ſome animadverſions upon what is written, the author begs leave to inform you, that he will be always ready to hear what is offered by men of *diſtinguiſhing character*; but ſhall think himſelf above taking notice of any *hired miſcellaniſts*, that *retail* ſtupidity and ſcandal. Wiſhing your lordſhip a *happy and ſpeedy tranſlation* in this world, I do not mean *to the next:* I have only to add, that if convinced of any miſtakes in what I have advanced, believe me, my Lord, I ſhall publicly retract, and as publicly ſubſcribe myſelf, the very reverſe of eccleſiaſtical ſubſcribers, ſincerely, and without pay,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S
Moſt dutiful ſon and ſervant,
in the bonds of uninterrupted
ſucceſſion and infallibility,
A Revolutional Tory.

A

A

LETTER

FROM THE

JESUITS

TO

Father *De La Pillonniere.*

In ANSWER to

The LETTER ſent to THEM by *that father*, and publiſhed by Dr. SNAPE, in his *vindication.*

Firſt Printed in the YEAR 1718.

A

LETTER

FROM THE

JESUITS

TO

Father *De La Pillonniere.*

Reverend Father,
Pax Chriſti,

WE received your letter of the and much applaud you for your holy zeal, congratulating you on the ſucceſs you tell us you have had, if ſuch you have had. But, reverend father, we muſt freely tell you, that we cannot but doubt, that you flatter your ſelf too much, when you fancy you have opened a way, that will bring back whole nations into the boſom

of *our church*. The new method you have taken is ſo totally different from all thoſe by which we have formerly had ſucceſs in *hereti-cal countries* and chiefly in *England*, that we exceedingly fear, you run the riſque of all our hopes and labours at once, by this ſtrange, and really (we muſt be free with you) to us unaccountable conduct. You cannot be, we know you are not, ſo weak as to expect, the re-eſtabliſhment of the *infallible authority* of *holy church*, by overthrowing the *authority* of *men* in the *affairs of religion*; for that would be to ſet up *our authority*, by taking away *all authority*. You muſt be ſenſible how ridiculous this deſign is at firſt ſight. If you are not, for the *bleſſed virgin*'s ſake, relinquiſh your miſſion, and come back to us; for you can do us no ſervice where you are, in the way you are in.

But we perſwade our ſelves of better things from your abilities, if you will but give your ſelf the time to reflect. You know that our *infallibility* is a very troubleſome *doctrine* to us; and that we are put to very hard ſhifts to defend it: you know we only take *it* up, in order to ſupport with the better *grace*, the *authority* and *power* we claim over mens conſciences, which cannot ſtand without *it*. You ſee therefore, that if you take away *authority*, you pull that down, for which only we build up *infallibility*, and without

out which *infallibility* would be but a dead weight upon our hands.

You tell us, that you only run down *authority* unaccompanied by *infallibility*; and by that means expoſe the *clergy* of the *church* of *England* alone, who claim the *one* without the *other*; and ſo encline the *people*, when once you have made them heartily deſpiſe their own *clergy*, to embrace us. But you are widely miſtaken; for you only expoſe thoſe of the *clergy* there, and thoſe *claims* of *theirs*, which are of unſpeakable ſervice to us, and which therefore you ought by all means to have encouraged and eſpouſed. It is true, *they* are *contemptible*; and, when things are ripe enough, we ſhall find it eaſy to make *them* appear ſo to their own *people*: yet to be over-haſty in that matter, is to ſtop the growth and encreaſe of thoſe things, which, if ſuffered to go on, and nouriſhed, will in the end turn to *their* confuſion, and *our* profit. And beſides, *they* are not yet become *numerous* enough, to make it practicable for us to ruin the credit of the whole *clergy* by *their* means; which we muſt neceſſarily do, before we can ſucceed in our deſigns there. We therefore ſhould ſtudy to obviate the ill effect, that ſome late *banters* upon *indiſputable authority* have had on the people of *England*. We ſhould ſtudy to take off the pretended ridiculouſneſs of claiming, though *not to be infallible, yet to be always in the right*;

and of affirming that *thoſe who may err, yet never do*; and not ſimply and weakly give into it, as you have done. Theſe things do us incredible miſchief, and if they go on, will utterly ruin all our hopes: and our letters from *England* inform us, that this dangerous way of thinking grows there every day more in vogue: if we cannot ſtop it, we are undone, paſt all retrieving.

It is with unſpeakable grief, that we obſerve through all your *letter*, ſuch *notions* and *projects* as encourage thoſe *freedoms*, which muſt neceſſarily finiſh the ruin of *our cauſe*; and even ſometimes almoſt makes us fear that you will in the end fall off from the *faith* yourſelf. You take a courſe wholly contrary to that of all our former and preſent *miſſionaries*, (perhaps unknown to you;) which has not been ſo *unſucceſsful* as you fancy. For is it not *ſucceſs* enough to have been able to work into the *breaſts* of *people*, the very ſame *doctrines* which are abhorred in us, and were the *ground* of *ſeparation* from us, only in *colours* a little, and very little, *different*? they, as well as you, thought it too mean a *view*, to make only *ſingle* converts. They as well as you, projected the *recovery* of *whole nations at once*. But they have done, and ſtill do it, (though you may be ignorant of it,) in a manner, that will at laſt effect it: you endeavour the ſame thing in a manner, that not only will never effectually do it, but

but that overturns at once all that they have ſpent ſo much ſweat and labour upon.

All our other *miſſionaries* have joined in with, and even excited the cry, of the *neceſſity of agreeing in one common rule of faith and worſhip.* They have urged the *authority of the church*, and ſided with all that urged it: they have conſtantly, and very wiſely, oppoſed *the uſe of private judgment in matters of religion*; they have repreſented *it* as leading to *atheiſm* and *infidelity*, (which though it is no great compliment to religion, yet we take it very kindly from them; becauſe it does us vaſt ſervice;) they have never ceaſed to urge *men to renounce their reaſon, to diſbelieve their ſenſes, and to pay an implicit deference to the dictates of their ſpiritual guides.* By theſe means, they had not only well nigh eſtabliſhed theſe doctrines in *England*, but had thoroughly diſunited the *proteſtants*; (in the effecting of which our greateſt ſtrength always conſiſts;) till you came and threw all down again with your new and whimſical projects. The advantage we ſhould have reaped from the doctrines is viſible. Were they once agreed of the neceſſity of *unity and communion*; why then (we might aſk them) did you break off from the *unity and communion* of *holy church* at the pretended reformation? why did you interrupt the *unity*, and ſet up a new and diſtinct *communion?* if they allow the *authority of the church*,

we may well cry out upon them; why did you then reſiſt the *authority* of our *church*, to which you were once *ſubject*, as much as you can be now to your *own?* if you ſay, we decreed things contrary to the *word of God*; we anſwer, you are a *judge* of our decrees then, and not a *ſubject* to them; you reject all *authority*, if you judge of it, and obey not *authority*, but your own frail *judgment*; you ſet up *private judgment*, which juſt now you owned, led to *atheiſm* and *infidelity*: be conſiſtent, renounce your reaſon, diſbelieve your ſenſes, pay an implicit deference to your ſpiritual guides, return to the *boſom* of your *holy mother the church*, who ſtretches out her arms to embrace you; return to the *paps that gave you ſuck*, and from which you have ſo long gone aſtray; and have nothing to do with thoſe blind guides, which have miſled you, without forſaking the *principles*, on which we would reſtore you. You may imagine how effectual theſe *reaſonings* would prove if we had but a fair *opportunity*, and *power*, to ſupport us, which we do not deſpair of having ſhortly, if we take the right methods to bring it about.

The *people* of *England* are indeed *knowing* and *inquiſitive* to a certain degree, but yet may be *led blindfold*, if you will but take care to blind them by inſenſible ſteps. But your way of *blinding* them by *opening their eyes*, will never do it. Your *miſ-*

take

take is owing to that *lively imagination* you are often led away with: you fancy the *light* of *human reaſon*, like *that* of the *ſun*, puts out the eyes that ſtare at it: you imagine that *liberty*, like *meat* and *drink*, ſurfeits thoſe who take it in greedily. You are vaſtly out; for the *pretended* light of *human reaſon* is of that ſort, that the more abundantly it flows in upon the mind, the more clearly the mind imagines, that it ſees and diſcerns things; the more you *devour* and *drink in* of *liberty*, the more ſtill your *vitious appetite* craves of it; the more you have taken in of it, the better it reliſhes, your eagerneſs after it is the keener, and you become the more uneaſy and impatient without it.

You may fancy, as long you pleaſe, that you ſhall *wean them effectually from a fondneſs for their private judgment*, by *indulging*, by *feeding*, by *driving it to wantonneſs and exceſs:* but you will feel at laſt, that you nouriſh up a Monſter, that will grow too ſtrong for you to tame; that will of it ſelf, whenever in the leaſt encouraged, never fail of running into the greateſt *wantonneſs* and *exceſs*. Will *diſpoſſeſſing* people of *prejudices*, give them *thoſe* that we deſire to *poſſeſs* them with? will *filling them with ſcorn for what is ſettled, merely becauſe it is ſettled*, teach them to ſubmit implicitly to what is *ſettled* amongſt us? and if you cannot do that, you do us no ſervice. Will your *expatiating on the freedom of following the dictates of one's*

own reaſon, induce people to give up their *reaſon* to us, and come under the *ſlavery*, you know, we want to bring on them? will *encouraging all men in general, of what denomination ſoever, to revolt from their churches, as having no authority to impoſe terms of communion*, bring them to a *ſubmiſſion* to our *authority* and *impoſitions?* or will it not rather incite thoſe, who are already in *ſubjection* to us, to *revolt* from us? will *exhorting every man to chuſe a religion for himſelf, to reject all authority, in matters ſpiritual, and to be their own judges, and their own guides*, make any of them chuſe *ours*; which forbids all *choice*, claims *abſolute authority in ſpirituals*, and conſtitutes our *holy church* the only *judge*, and *guide?* theſe imaginations are ſo weak, that had we not ſeen them under your hand, we could not have believed you capable of them: nay, ſtill we are almoſt tempted to ſuſpect that ſome enemy of yours has forged this account for you. If theſe are your real thoughts, you are, what you ſay of others, *a knight errant in religion*, and not the wiſe and faithful *miſſionary* we took you for.

What you ſay next of the *diviſions* and *ſubdiviſions* of *proteſtants*, is right in it ſelf, but is quite wrong, as you ſeem to underſtand it. The only *diviſion* amongſt *proteſtants*, that makes way for us, is ſuch a *diviſion* as makes them quarrel amongſt themſelves, and deſtroy one another.

The

The only *unity* amongſt *them*, that is any way *dangerous* to us, is ſuch a *unity*, as unites their hearts in mutual love and forbearance. Every other ſort of *diviſion*, is but an *apparent diviſion*, wholly uſeleſs to our buſineſs; and every other ſort of *unity*, whatever it may be to them, is of no importance at all to us. And therefore whilſt you are allowing, and crying up the *right of private judgment*, of *following one's own conſcience* and running down *perſecution* on account of *conſcience*, as you are putting an *argument* in the *mouths* of our *enemies* againſt us, who do actually deny the *one*, and practice the *other*: ſo you are likewiſe encouraging only ſuch a *diviſion* among *proteſtants*, as is of no manner of *ſervice* to our *cauſe*, and at the ſame time, eſtabliſhing that *union* amongſt *them*, which alone ruins it.

Take care therefore, dear father, that inſtead of *effecting the ſo long deſired, ſo often in vain attempted, recovery of theſe iſlands*, you do not, by the *new methods* you have taken, work more *in vain*, than all that have gone before you: nay, take care that you do not make us loſe again, all the progreſs we have already made towards it; that you do not unfaſten all the *holds* we yet keep, and by which we hope at length to draw *them* back to the *unity* of our *holy church*, that you do not offend all our *beſt friends*, as, we perceive, you have already offended *one* of them;

that, in fine, you do not give a helping-hand to exterminate all the *remnants* of our *doctrines* amongſt them, and to remove all *ground* for us to work upon for the future.

You ſay you are not a *proteſtant* in the bad ſenſe, but *a proteſter againſt thoſe that proteſted againſt us*. But, pray father, in what *points* have you *proteſted* againſt them? has it not been in *thoſe*, in which you ſay they have not enough departed from us? has it not been in thoſe points, that you have inveighed againſt *Martin Luther* and *Calvin*, thoſe *coryphees of the pretended reformed religion?* and do you think, that the way to bring the *people* of *England* back to us, is to make them our more inveterate *enemies*, and to teach them to abhor every thing as it approaches to what we eſpouſe, and as it reſembles the ſpirit that reigns amongſt us? this is indeed *a quite different method* from all that we ever put in *practice*: and you are, what your patron, as you call him, ſays of you, *a* Jeſuit, *in all reſpects, as unlike all other* Jeſuits, *as any* proteſtants *in the world can be*; but only you do us infinitely more injury, than any of them were ever capable of doing.

What you have ſaid in your *reflections* on the *Roman catholics*, far from *caſting a miſt before the*

eyes

eyes of our adverſaries, has diſperſed all *thoſe* that we had *caſt before them* already, and opened them more than ever againſt us. You have certainly *exceeded the bounds of his holineſs's diſpenſation*, when you have contradicted every end of your *miſſion*, and have made us appear more *odious*, and which is worſe, more *contemptible* than ever, to thoſe, to whom you were to have ſhewn us in all our *beautifulleſt colours*. What if you have dropt ſome *ſoftening expreſſions* for your particular *friends*; you have repreſented our *body*, and our *deſigns*, as *terrible*, and our *inſtruction* as *deſpicable*; by which *good character*, you have done what in you lies, to rob us of what we prize more than every other *privilege*, the *education* of the *youth*. You have leſſened no one's *averſion* to us as a *body*; but you have found a way to add to it *a contempt* for our *learning*. The *averſion*, you fancy you have *transferred* from us, and *fixed* on others, has fallen only on *thoſe*, who, whatever you think, we aſſure you, are our *beſt friends*, and our *greateſt ſtrength*.

We remember too well, that *our cauſe miſcarried thirty years ago, through the unanimity of the heretics*; and therefore to prevent this for the future, you teach them to be *unanimous*, notwithſtanding their *different apprehenſions*, in *points of doctrine*,

doctrine, and *ceremonies of worſhip*; you teach them to tolerate one another, and to join againſt us, their common enemy. Excellent advice! excellent guard for us! what you tell us of the *diſſenters*, far from being *good news*, gives us a worſe proſpect than ever. If the *preſbyterians* can tamely hear *Calvin*, and ſome of their own *ſynods*, turned into contempt, they have left that *happy ſtiffneſs* they uſed to have, and which gave us ſo great *advantage*; and they now adhere only to *things*, which we never gain any good by meddling with. We cannot expect, whilſt they keep this *temper*, to ſee them bite at that *bait*, which indeed we ſaw them reject thirty years ago; We mean, the *promiſe* we offered them to *ſubvert* only *the church of England*. We plainly ſee they deſire only to have a *compleat toleration*; and if a certain *bill* paſſes, (which our *emiſſaries* inform us is now in *agitation*, and which we have ordered them to expoſe, and exclaim againſt with all their force,) we do not queſtion, but they will join powerfully in every thing againſt us, and redouble the *force* of the *heretical party* in *England*: and this is the *bill* which you have been promoting, with all your deep and refined *politics*.

You boaſt much of your *artifice*, in getting into the *family* of a *biſhop** of the *church* of *England*; and

* Biſhop *Hoadly*.

and you ſeem ſo weak as to fancy, that you over-reach that Biſhop, and make *him operate* to bring about your *ends*. Here really we pity you. Do you imagine yourſelf able to deal with the *greateſt*, and *ableſt*, *enemy*, that we ever had in *England!* will he, who has not, like others, pruned only ſome of our *ſuperfluities*, which we would gladly part with, if we could do it with *honour*; but has cut away our very *foundations*, and removed almoſt every *root*, by which we hoped to revive, and ſpring up again in that *country*; will he, do you think, be caught by your little *traps* for him? No—he will make uſe of you to ruin us entirely; and, whenever he diſcovers you to be, what you are, will diſcard and deſpiſe you: nay, we fear if he has not already done it, (which heaven avert!) will inveigle you into *his party*, and make you as *ſincere* an *enemy* to us, as you are now a *real one*.

Are theſe your *triumphs* for *the ſpouſe of Chriſt?* Is this *breaking the bows of the ungodly*, to make them twice as *ſtrong* as before? Is this *turning the poiſon of hereſy to its own antidote*, to give ſuch a *double doſe* of it, as makes it have a *double effect?* we hope your *patron*, as you call him, will never be able to *ſcreen you* from the *ſuſpicion of inſincerity*. Your *ſincerity* does us more *miſchief*, than your *inſincerity*, even to us, could do. We ſhould rejoice

joice at your *Diſcovery*, (bating the private *ills* it would make you ſuffer,) as *it* would make your *injuries* to us leſs *effectual*, and diſcredit ſuch *methods* for the future. We hope Dr. *Snape* will ſucceed in his Invectives againſt you. And if you ſhould ſuppoſe, we had ſent him over the *letter* he publiſhed, you would have no reaſon to accuſe us, as tranſgreſſing either the *rules* of *politics*, or *honeſty*, after what we have ſuffered through your *heat*, (and we muſt call it by its true name,) *folly*: we judge the beſt of you.

You have indeed done us mighty *ſervice*, in obtaining, that *your enemies* ſhall be ſtigmatiſed, as *ours*, and as *enemies to a government*, that is our *greateſt enemy*; and that under theſe *characters*, all our very good *friends*, and *allies*, ſhall paſs as *odious*, and *infamous* to the world.

In order to perſuade us of the *efficacy* of your new *method* of *converting*, you tell us of *two doctrines* of *ours*, that you have had the pleaſure to ſee prevail in *England*, by being taught by thoſe, whoſe *political notions were of the current ſtamp*; and of *another*, that you fancy makes way for the *recovery* of our *rights* and *power*. We muſt tell you, what we thought you knew, that theſe *two doctrines* you mention, *of the love of God*, and *of prayer*, firſt, are not ſuch as we teach; (though we are glad that they are repreſented as ſuch by that arch-heretic biſhop's

enemies

enemies, and rejoice to ſuffer this ſmall *mark* of *infamy*, they are pleaſed to ſet on all that approach to us, as long as we have the *pleaſure* to ſee it fixed upon *him:)* but if *they* were, it very little imports us, who care for thoſe *doctrines* no otherwiſe, than as it concerns our *honour* to maintain, what we have once *unluckily* eſpouſed.

The other *doctrine* which, you ſay, makes way for the *reſtoring* our *rights* and *power*, happens to do the very *contrary*. For, firſt, in the *diſputes* amongſt them, we know, (for we have ſeen moſt of what has been written on thoſe *ſubjects*,) that the *power* of the *church* to inflict *temporal puniſhments* in *matters* of *religion* and *conſcience*, is utterly denied: and then, when the *diſpute* is reduced to affirming theſe *powers* of the *civil magiſtrate*, that is denied too, by the *biſhop*'s ſide. And the reaſon given is, (an admirable one for us!) becauſe no *man* being *infallible*, no *one* can be proper to be a *judge*, or a *governour* over the *conſciences* of others. And then the *debate* turns into a private *wrangle*, whether a *dean* *, who ſometime ago affirmed this, affirmed it only of the *ſpiritual powers*, or of the *temporal powers* alſo; which he *denies*, and every body elſe *affirms*. Now, what *advantage*

* Dr. *Sherlock*, then Dean of *Chicheſter*, late Biſhop of *London*.

vantage are we to reap from all this? On the contrary, we fear, the greateſt *diſadvantages* from it. For, firſt, our *Infallibility* is diſcarded on all hands; upon this all *power* in the *church* over *conſciences* is effectually given up: and the *conteſt* remains, what *power* the *civil magiſtrate* has. If he is denied to have any, then all *power* over *conſcience* is gone; which we cannot conceive to be a proper method of reſtoring *it* to us. Beſides, you know, it is the *power* of the *civil magiſtrate*, that we muſt *ſupport* in theſe *caſes*; for the *church* inflicts none but *ſpiritual puniſhments*, which, *people* are now grown ſo hardened againſt the *church-power*, as eaſily to bear. We only declare the *heretic*, and deliver *him* to the *ſecular arm*, whom we require to be the *executioner* of our *vengeance*. If therefore the *ſecular arm* is not to *interpoſe in matters of conſcience*, He is not any more to execute our *ſentence*; and all the *thunder* of our *cenſures* will fall to the ground, *harmleſs* and *unregarded*.

All theſe doctrines you boaſt of, as great *victories*, do in reality conſpire to our *ruin*: The *magiſtrate* deprived of the *right* of *puniſhing* men on the *account* of *conſcience*, becomes *uſeleſs* to our *purpoſes*; and all our *authority* is left without any *force*, or *effect*: teaching men to expreſs *their love to God*, *by keeping his commandments* only, is teaching

teaching them to obſerve too nicely what his *commandments* are; and will accuſtom them inſenſibly to deſpiſe *ours*, under the notion of the *commandments of men*: recommending, what they call, a *calm* and *rational* way of *praying*, will depreciate all that *rapturous devotion*, raiſed by the *gloomineſs* and *auguſtneſs* of our *churches*, by the *ſoft ſound* of our *muſic*, by the *pomp* and *luſtre* of our *glittering veſtments*, of our *richly attired images*, and *ever burning lamps* before them; which, tho' we do not require it ſo ſtrictly of our ſettled *votaries*, yet we find of infinite benefit in gaining *proſelytes to us*. And yet theſe things you neglect: you cry down the moſt uſeful *power* of the *ſecular arm*; and extol a *cloſe regard to the commandments of God*, and a *ſpiritual*, and *rational ſervice*, which can never poſſibly be of any *advantage* to *our cauſe*.

Be not concerned, *father*, that you ſhould be left alone in ſo great a *miſſion*: we have *miſſionaries* enough beſides You; and many more that we may call our *miſſionaries*, becauſe they ſerve our cauſe as *effectually*, though not with ſo *meritorious* an *intention*, as *they* do. But you may be ſure, whilſt you oppoſe theſe *latter*, as hitherto you have done, we ſhall take care, that none of the *former* ſhall *open themſelves* to you. We ſhall give you further reaſons, when we have done with all the particulars of your *letter*: we are glad to hear that your *ſa-*

tyr-

tyr is exhauſted, ſince it fell heavieſt upon *us* and *our beſt friends:* we wiſh it had been much ſooner ſpent.

But to come to your concluſion, which diſpleaſes us no leſs than the reſt of your *letter:* you give us *a ſpecimen of the liberty* you have taken, (and indeed a very great one you have taken with us,) which almoſt forces us to look upon you, no longer as one of *ourſelves*, but as the *rankeſt proteſtant* that ever the *Northern hereſy* corrupted. You inform us of the uſe of the expreſſion PROTESTANT POPERY, by improving which *pretty antitheſis*, you think you have done us immenſe *ſervice*. But we muſt tell you, nothing could do us a greater *injury*. That very *word* has embarraſſed us more than any thing; and the only way that is now left for us, is to do whatever we can to hinder the people from underſtanding *it:* but your *wiſdom* thought proper to *paraphraſe* it, and explain it more fully. Did not you ſee that the end of uſing that *expreſſion*, was to make ſomething more *odious*, by ſhewing how much it approached to *popery*; to render ſomething more ridiculous, by ſhewing how it mixed *Popiſh proceedings*, with *proteſtant principles?* And yet you could not be at reſt, till you had embelliſhed upon it, *in a marginal note*, and fairly warned the *world*, *of our ſpirit of domineering*, *of impoſture*, *of animoſity*,

ſity, *of perſecution*, &c. which, you very prudently ſay the *proteſtants condemn with juſtice*; and make it their *reproach*, that *they* imitate us in it; and which, you add, is *all that is moſt odious*, amongſt us: and then, for a finiſhing ſtroke you ſubjoin, what is worſt of all, that *this is*, *in your opinion*, THE ONLY INSUPPORTABLE THING IN POPERY, which in *ours* is, *the only thing that can ſupport it*.

Theſe things are far from perſuading us that you are ſo *ſincerely attached to our intereſt*, as you would have us think; or, if you are *ours* ſtill, they convince us, that you are, at leaſt whilſt you perſiſt in this new method, in no *capacity* at all *of promoting it*.

But we have other reaſons to fear the worſt of you: not your own *account* of your own *conduct*, which is bad enough; not your *public vindication* of yourſelf, which is worſe: but the certain *informations* of our *miſſionaries*, whom we ordered to watch you narrowly, upon your neglecting, for ſo long a time as you have been gone from us, to give us any *account* of your *proceedings*, and upon the *reports* we heard from other *hands*, of your *odd behaviour*, and your *reſervedneſs* to *thoſe*, with whom you ſhould have been the moſt free in communicating yourſelf, and concerting *affairs* with them.

As

As for your neglect of *tranſmitting* accounts, of what paſt, to us, you would excuſe yourſelf on the *want of a ſafe conveyance*; which we never yet heard any of our *miſſionaries* complain of; and which we are the more ſhocked at from a man of your *abilities*.

As to your *reſervedneſs*, and your other *behaviour*, we do not ſee what you can find to ſay in *juſtification* of it; eſpecially when we let you know that we have been well informed, that in your *letter* to my Lord *George Howard*, the objections againſt our *church* were couched in the *ſtrongeſt terms*; that you had almoſt perverted that *good lord*; and, as far as we can judge, really deſigned to do it. You may gueſs whether that *Engliſh gentleman* whom you affronted, and laughed at in *my lord's houſe*, and at the *coffee-houſe*, took it very well; or could think you a *true friend* to our *cauſe*, when he both heard your *converſation*, which you imagined he did not *underſtand*, and ſaw your *letter* full of *expreſſions*, as all your other *late works* are, fit only for the mouth of the *vileſt heretic*.

Did you only *ſeem* to argue againſt our *church*, when you met *two* of our *fathers*, on account of *two young gentlewomen*, who were become *converts to us*; and ſo puzzled them on the ſubject of *church authority*, that they proteſt,

teſt, they never were ſo confounded in their lives?

You ſee, that we have not been without *ſpies* upon you, however you have ſought to conceal yourſelf from us. We could tell you many other particulars of your *private conduct*, that are as diſpleaſing to us, as theſe; but we ſpare you now, in hopes of your *amendment*.

You know very well, that we never allow any one, that is already *ours*, to be loſt, for the carrying on *ſchemes* of *imaginary conqueſts*.

Whilſt ſuch is your conduct, we rejoice at every abuſe you ſuffer. We value at a high rate, the ſervice which Dr. *Snape*, and thoſe others that follow *his example*, have done us; (though, to tell you the truth, we cannot much eſteem their *perſons*;) both, as we hope it will ſerve to reclaim you, and convince you of the *fruitleſneſs* of that way of *proceeding*; and as we cannot doubt, but that, if you are at all wavering in your *attachment* to us, it will fully reſettle you, by ſhewing you what *uſage* you are to expect at their *hands*, if you ſhould become *one* of them, and what *thanks* you are like to get for ſuch a *piece* of *treachery* to us.

Another *pleaſure* this *uſage*, that you have met with, gives us, when we reflect on it, is, that it will effectually put a ſtop to all *converſions from us*, as you call them. They have that notion

notion here of the *barbarities* you have ſuffered, that every body ſeems to ſtartle at the thought of going over to ſuch a *country*. You may be ſure we *exaggerate* every inſtance of your *treatment*; though indeed it has an appearance of being ſo *cruel*, and *inhoſpitable*, that it does not ſtand in need of much more, than being barely told: and that we never fail to do, both to our own *Eleves*, and wherever we go. We make them believe, that the whole *church* of *England* is engaged in that *behaviour*, which indeed the *doctor*, and his *friends* are only obliged to anſwer for. We tell them, that all the *anger* againſt you, ariſes for your *zeal* againſt us, and becauſe you *differ* too *widely* from us; (for every one here is not let into the *ſecret* of your *miſſion*.) We repreſent to them, how willingly and readily the *church* of *England* would re-unite with us, if it were not for ſome few *odd and ſingular Chriſtians* that diſturb every thing. We repeat to them paſſages out of Dr. *Snape*. We ſhew them, that he perfectly agrees with us, in obliging men to SUBMIT TO THE YET UNEXAMINED DECISIONS OF THE CHURCH; in maintaining the right, TO TERRIFY AND KEEP IN AWE MEN IN THEIR RELIGIOUS CAPACITY; which you know, are the darling *tenets* of our *church*. We make them believe, that all the

church

church of *England* receive theſe things joyfully, and with approbation: that they are oppoſed by none, but thoſe *odd and ſingular Chriſtians*, who are looked upon as the very worſt of *heretics* and *ſchiſmatics* for their pains; and are called *preſbyterians*, and *fanatics*, and every thing that is moſt *odious*, on that account.

Now we own, that is not ſtrictly true; we know theſe *doctrines* are contrary to the *foundation* of that *church* of *England*; which ſtands on the right of refuſing *to ſubmit to the deciſions of our church*, to which they were then *ſubject*; and on the *denial* of our *right*, *to terrify and keep in awe men in their religious capacity*; which if we had not then, it is very impudent in them to pretend to now: yet, though we know all this, and that many *able men* in *England* oppoſe theſe *notions* for that very *reaſon*, and ſee the *conſequences* of *them* diſtinctly; though we know the *doctrines* of their *church* are directly in *words* oppoſite to *theſe*, however in *rules of practice* they may contradict themſelves: though we know all this perfectly, yet we find *miſrepreſentation* of this ſort is of ſuch infinite benefit to our cauſe, that, in this caſe, we make uſe of our known arts, to diſtinguiſh or confound, to ſpeak truth or falſhood, and to do good or evil, as the intereſt of *holy church* ſhall require. (One would think, *ſome* amongſt you had juſt the ſame

diſpenſation, that we have; for they ſeem to us to take juſt the ſame *liberties.)*

We found ſome of our own youth, and many others here, in a very *wavering diſpoſition*, that we were afraid would have led them croſs the ſea, before we were aware of it; but theſe *happy accounts* from *England* ſeem to have entirely altered their *deſigns*, and to have tied them to us firmer than ever. The *reception* you have found in *England*, and the *ſtories* we tell them of that *country*, which *they with you* have been ſo kind as to give us admirable *appearances* to ſupport, frighten them from all thoughts of *going over* to a *church*, that they think is *coming over* to them; and that ſeems enraged at all that *come over* to what *it* was at firſt, and what, on its *erroneous principles*, *it* ſhould ſtill be.

You muſt know, that no one here, but among ourſelves, ſuſpects in the leaſt your *change* of *religion*. They look on you, and talk of you, as the *rankeſt Huguenot*; we hope without reaſon. Though really, if you are ſtill *ours*, as you profeſs yourſelf to us, you have *acted your part* moſt perfectly; and the realleſt *convert from us*, as your *patron* loves to call them, could not poſſibly have given more evident *marks* of his change: *demonſtrations* we may call them; for they almoſt deceive us, to whom you proteſt the contrary; to ſuch a degree, that, notwithſtanding

ſtanding our good opinion of you, we can ſcarce bring ourſelves to believe your *words* againſt your *actions*. If your *enemies* in *England* abuſe you, becauſe they queſtion the *ſincerity* of your change, you cannot but laugh at their ſtupidity, for they can have no *ground* for ſuch a *ſuſpicion*, not knowing your *heart*, as we do: if they uſe you ſo, becauſe they are angry at you for it, which appears moſt probable to us; we are all vaſtly obliged to them, and conceive great *hopes* of them; and when it is time to open yourſelf, you ought to thank them extremely for it.

There is another *advantage*, of which you have been the *accidental occaſion*, and which we ſhould have heartily thanked you for, if you had not laid us under much greater *diſadvantages* another way; that is, your *writings*, and your *living* with that *arch-heretic biſhop*, have driven his *antagoniſts* to fall, in *defence* of themſelves, into all our moſt *beloved doctrines*, as we have ſhewn you before; and by that means, when they ſhall have deſtroyed all the *props* of *proteſtantiſm*, lay themſelves open to be an *eaſy prey* to us, and render our *conqueſt* over them very *natural* and *practicable*. It will be always in our *power*, when the proper time comes, to *expoſe* and *vilify* them in the *eyes* of their own *people*, by ſhewing evidently, that on the *prin-*

ciples they own, their *ſchiſm* is altogether left *unjuſtifiable*; that they are *ſelf-condemned*; and that if they do not return into the boſom of the *catholic church*, it muſt be owing to their *private intereſt*, which makes them contradict their own *conceſſions*. And if they ever offer to complain of us, when we get power into our hands, for *terrifying them, and keeping them in awe*, we ſhall be able to appeal to their own *declarations*, whether *they* do not juſtify us; and tell their people, that it is plain, they would have aſſumed to themſelves, what they unjuſtly deny to others.

Theſe things we would have allowed you to *make merry with* in private, had you been as *cautious*, as you ſhould have been in other *points*; and we aſſure you, we make ourſelves very *merry* here with theſe things: we heartily contemn thoſe *tools* that promote only our *intereſts*, without knowing, or intending it; and we only wiſh to get them to throw themſelves into our hands, (as they certainly will, if you let them alone,) that we may thoroughly inſult them for their *folly* and *impudence*.

You ſee, *father*, we do not hide our *obligations* to you, where you have done us *ſervice*; but are free to own them: ſo, the *injuries* you have done us by your *conduct* far outweighing *them*, we muſt be as free with you, on that head.

You

You have *acted your part*, we confeſs, very naturally: but then you have over-acted it, (we mean, if you are ſtill *ſincere* to us,) and have fallen in the *error*, that *over-artificial people* often fall into, of ſtraining *cunning* ſo far, that it comes to be *folly*, and has all the *effects* of it.

This has been your failing, whilſt you expoſed *them* who were ſomething *like us*, for being *like us*, you at bottom expoſed us, as *thoſe* whom it was a ſhame to *reſemble*. Whilſt you turn into ridicule the *authority* of the *church* in *matters* of *conſcience*, and the *right* of *proſecuting heretics* on that account, and the obligation of the *civil powers* to exterminate with fire and ſword, whomſoever we declare to be ſo; you alienate the minds of men from what we cannot ſubſiſt without. When you tranſlated a *letter to his holineſs* *, you tranſlated the *piece*, that, of all that ever were publiſhed againſt us in *England*, did us the greateſt *diſſervice*. A *piece*, that ridiculed every pretence among the *proteſtant churches*, that countenances *ours*; all the *myſteries*, all the *ceremonies*, all the *inventions*, all the *party notions*, and *zeal* againſt *diſſenters*, and all the *proſecutions* of them; in ſhort, every thing that bears any *image* of *our church*,

* See Biſhop *Hoadly*'s letter to the pope, prefixed to Sir *Richard Steele*'s account of the Roman catholic religion.

that gives us any *advantage* over them, any *hopes* of reclaiming them: that ridicules all our *beſt friends*, and *helpers* in the *cauſe*: that recommends a *unity*, and *charitable toleration* amongſt *proteſtants*, which will always be moſt *fatal* to us: that cries up the *character* of a *KING*, whom we dread above all things, both on account of his *perſonal virtues*, that at the bottom we cannot deny, or at leaſt cannot prevail upon people to believe us, when we do, and on account of his *power* and *influence*, that, we ſee with grief, grows every day greater, both at home and abroad; and, laſtly, which alarms us more than any thing beſides, is like to rouſe your *univerſities*, out of the *ignorance*, they were happily buried in, and which we are well informed was encreaſing very faſt among them, into ſuch a *ſort* of *learning*, as is always moſt *terrible*, and *pernicious*, to our *deſigns*. And then your *preface* and *poſtſcript* to this *odious piece*, was every thing that could be bad againſt us: and what we cannot explain to ourſelves, without ſuppoſing you the *baſeſt betrayer* of us, or the *weakeſt man* alive.

The happy *ignorance* and *ſtupidity*, that, not without our helping hand, was ſpreading itſelf all over *England*, took its riſe from the *univerſities*, (where, we aſſure you, we have no ſmall power,) thoſe *fountains* of *ignorant learning*, have

have been diſturbed by *you*, and *thoſe* whoſe *party* you have eſpouſed: that *miſt*, which we had taken ſuch pains to raiſe, and under covert of which, we hoped ſhortly to have ſurprized them, we now ſee almoſt *diſpelled* by *one* of our own *favourite miſſionaries*, and his *friends*. A *ſpirit* of *enquiry*, a moſt *dangerous ſpirit* ſeems to ſtart up every where; even in the *univerſities* themſelves, where we thought ourſelves moſt ſecure. If it cannot be immediately ſuppreſt, we muſt hope for no *fruits* from our labours there; nor loſe our time any longer upon ſo *hopeleſs* a *ſoil*: for you may depend upon it, as faſt as *it* gains *ground*, we ſhall loſe *it*. If that *ſpirit* be indulged ever ſo little at firſt, it ſoon grows out of the power of man to reſtrain *it*; and, as we told you before, runs to that *wantonneſs and exceſs*, that nothing upon earth can ever govern *it*: *darkneſs* is our only *hope*; if men think they ſee their way, they will not accept of *guides* to ſhew it them; and eſpecially ſuch *guides*, as we pretend to be, that muſt *blindly* be *followed*, or not at all.

Darkneſs is of ſuch uſe to us in *religion*, that we have introduced it even into our *material churches*: and it is inexpreſſible, what a *myſterious* awe the *dim religious light* of our tapers caſts upon our people; what a ſacred horror they feel within themſelves for us, who are *miniſters* of thoſe *ho-*

ly places; how it makes them afraid of examining too nicely into the *oracles*, which we deliver from our *ſacred caverns*; how the *glittering* of our *veſſels*, and *habits*, *dazzles* their *eyes*, and makes them ſee every thing, as we inſtruct them to ſee it; in fine, how obedient they are to what we, who keep them every where ſo in the *dark*, command them. Encourage therefore a *dark ſubmiſſion* in every thing to the *deciſions* of the *church*: this can never be *driven to wantonneſs, and exceſs*; for the leſs you allow them to *ſee*, the more ſtill they deſire to be *blinded*. But *light* and *clearneſs* deſtroy us; and immediately make people fancy themſelves as *wiſe*, and as *quick-ſighted* as *we* are.

Theſe, you, who have lived ſo long with us, muſt know to be our *conſtant maxims*: and what thoughts can we have of you, to ſee you act in every point the direct contrary to them?

The *evil ſpirit you* and *your friends* have raiſed beyond ſea, does not ſtop there, which we could the more eaſily bear: but begins to reach us *here* in *France*, and is like to raviſh from us, not only the hopes of farther *conqueſts*, but even the quiet *poſſeſſion* of what we already enjoy. They begin even here, taking example from the *heretics*, to aſſume the *audaciouſneſs* of queſtioning ſome of the moſt *ſacred deciſions*, and *myſteries*, of our *church*. Some have the *inſolence* to pretend to read

read the *ſcriptures* without our leave; and, which is worſe, to judge for themſelves the *ſenſe* of *them*. If they would let us *explain* it to them, and would always *ſubmit* to our *explanations*, as you ſee many *heretics* do to the *coryphees* of their *churches*; we could bear it with leſs regret: we could tell them, as *thoſe* do *their* people, that we adhere to the *ſcriptures*, that we give them the true *meaning* and *reading* of it, that we admit *them* to be the *rule of faith*; but that we underſtand *them* better than they can; that their *education*, and *want* of *learning* makes them *incapable* of ſuch *ſtudies*; that much *time* and great *abilities* are *requiſite* for ſuch a *ſearch*; that therefore, *en attendant*, they had better *take our word*, till they have *examined*, (which yet we would perſuade them, they can never do,) and ſubmit entirely to our *explications*, and *as yet unexamined deciſions*. But even in this way there is danger, as you ſee by the example of the proteſtants, who will not be kept in, by ſuch *ſpecious profeſſions* of their *maſters*, when once they are allowed the ſight of thoſe *pernicious books*.

However, as that *ſeeming liberty* and *real ſlavery* is contrary to the *principles* of *proteſtantiſm*, and is a nearer *approach* to *us*, you ſhould not have oppoſed it, or ridiculed it; but ſhould have joined in extolling the great *good nature*, and *condeſcenſion* of ſuch *allowances*.

But you on the contrary have ſtood up, not only for opening the *ſcriptures* to the people, but even for their *underſtanding*, and *explaining* it for themſelves; which we can never permit, or bear.

What hopes can we have of you, when we ſee you have done us this greateſt of all miſchiefs? Had you to do with *abſolute idiots*, your *method* might poſſibly have *ſucceſs*: But as you own the *people* of *England* are *inquiſitive*, how could you hope for *any* by ſuch means?

How much *wiſer*, and more *agreeable* to our *practice*, would it have been, to have laid hold on the faireſt *opportunity* that ever yet offered itſelf to us? When at the *acceſſion* of this *preſent King*, you firſt went over to *England*; when you ſaw all the people ſet againſt *him*, flocking after *Sacheverell*, and the reſt of his *enemies*; when the word *church* was made uſe of, with ſuch *ſucceſs*, to inflame the ſpirits of the *giddy mob*; when you ſaw every thing working toward the *rebellion* that afterward broke out *too ſoon*; when you ſaw the *Engliſh bear* the *view* of a *popiſh prince* with *patience*, and even *wiſh* for him with *eagerneſs*; when *popery* was grown leſs *odious*, and almoſt *familiar* to many; when a great *party* in the *Engliſh clergy*, were preaching up the very *doctrines* we delight in, of *uninterrupted ſucceſſions*, of *authoritative abſolutions*, and *benedictions*,

ons, of the *great powers* of the *ſpiritual princes* of the *church*, as we *both* love to call them: when every thing thus made the way eaſy before you; how much *greater* a *conduct*, and how much liker to *that* of *a miſſionary of ours*, had you ſhewn, if you had joined with them, and helped them to blow up the *flame*, that was already kindled to your hands; than obſtinately to have taken a *new courſe* of your own, and obſtructed all theſe vaſt *efforts*, that muſt neceſſarily have ended to our *advantage*, had they been as well managed, as we know you could have managed them?

What a glorious harveſt might we by this time have reaped, had you kept to our maxims? And what treaſures have you robbed us of by deſerting from them? When we reflect on theſe things, we can ſcarce think with *patience* of your *conduct*.

This makes us remember your old *obſtinacy* in Father *Hardouin's affair*, which, you ſtretch your cunning to perſuade us to forget, and to believe, what we well remember, to be only a *ſtory* forged for the *heretics*: but we indeed thought *that* was only the effect of *youthful heat*; which if we had ſuſpected to be ſtill in you, we ſhould never have employed you in ſuch a *miſſion*; but which now we fear is too deeply rooted in you.

Nay we cannot, till you ſatisfy us better, but believe that you have really *left* and *betrayed* us.

We are forced on this account, to order all our *miſſionaries* to join with *Snape* and *Graverol*, and your other *enemies*, to decry you. You muſt either immediately change your whole *conduct*, or leave your *miſſion*, and come back to us; or elſe openly *deſert* us. We will not be any longer left in ſuſpence about you; or leave you to follow your own *fancies*, to undo us.

But that you may not think we judge too raſhly of your *intentions* toward us, we reſolve to try you once more; and ſend you theſe *inſtructions*, which we command you, in *virtue* of the HOLY OBEDIENCE, punctually to obſerve.

1. Leave immediately that *heretic*'s houſe, in which you now live; and have no farther communication with *him*, Dr. *Clark*, or with any of their *adherents*, or any who hold *principles* like *theirs*: for we are aſſured, that nothing can ever accrue to us from that *quarter*, but *miſchief*.

2. Cry out, inveigh, rave againſt all their *doctrines*: call *ſincerity* the high road to *atheiſm* and *infidelity*; for, if it be allowed that men muſt be *ſincere*, and that their *ſalvation* depends upon their being ſo, they muſt *enquire*; and if they *enquire*, they will *judge*. We do not bid you argue on theſe *heads*; but *exclaim* againſt them: *vilify* the *characters* of the *men* who teach them: ſtick at no *calumnies* you can raiſe againſt them:

in

in fine, follow the excellent *example*, that *ſome* of the *divines* of that *church* have ſet before you. Accuſe them of all the *blackeſt deſigns* of deſtroying their own *church*; repreſent them as even *enemies* to the *king's ſupremacy*, where you find that will do you any ſervice; and, where that *topic* will not be apt to prevail, paint them as the *vileſt heretics*, who would pull down all the *powers* and *inſtitutions*, that are neceſſary to the very *being* of the *church*. If they ſhould anſwer you, never *underſtand* them *right*; but perſiſt in *miſrepreſenting* them, but always with the *appearance* of deſiring to know their *meaning*, of wiſhing to ſee them *juſtify* themſelves, and of the moſt ſenſible *grief*, to ſee yourſelf obliged, for the *intereſts* of *Chriſtianity*, to oppoſe them.

3. Embrace Dr. *Snape*, and Mr. *Graverol*, and all their *adherents*; beg them pardon for having once dared to oppoſe them; lament with *tears* your *errors*; rejoice in your *conviction*, which, tell them, they were the happy *occaſions* of. Eſpouſe all their *principles* and *doctrines* heartily; for, you may depend upon it, we ſhall, in the end, reap the only benefit from them.

There is another *performance* we have lately ſeen, called *ſuſpiria ſacra*, *dedicated* to the *archbiſhop of Canterbury*, which we would have you zealouſly cry up; becauſe of *one paſſage* in the *dedication*, which recommends to the world the

the *religion* of *Auguſtus*, that is, the *eſtabliſhed religion* of every country, *heathen*, or *Chriſtian*, or *Mahometan*, *proteſtant*, or *papiſt*, or whatever it happens, or ever may happen to be. This ſeems indeed at firſt ſight, not to be much to our *advantage*, the *eſtabliſhment* in *England* happening now to be againſt us. But it is very much: for firſt, it ſecures to us what we already poſſeſs, by removing every other *conſideration*, but that ſingle *one* of *eſtabliſhment*, all *right* or *wrong*, *truth* or *falſhood*, and conſequently all *private judgment*; then it condemns all paſt *reformation*, that has been pretended to be made from the *then eſtabliſhment*, and effectually prevents any further progreſs in it, where it has ſtopt ſhort, as all *reformation* is departing from the *preſent eſtabliſhment*; and conſequently prevents all ſuch farther *diſtance* from us, as might poſſibly deprive us of all our remaining *hopes*; it leaves us all the *advantages* we at preſent have againſt them, and much *room* to make freſh *attacks* upon them; and laſtly, it lays up in *ſtore for us*, againſt the time when we ſhall come to have the *dominion* over them, an *excellent argument* to preſerve *it*, as *it* will then be *the eſtabliſhed religion of their country*.

4. Extol with the greateſt zeal the *authority of the church*, over the *conſciences* of *men*; the *obligation* of *ſubmitting to the unexamined deciſions*

of

of IT; the right *it* has to call on the magiſtrate *to terrify and keep in awe men in their religious capacity*; the *abſolute neceſſity* of being in *one communion*, without allowing of any *excuſes* under the *pretence* of a *tender conſcience*; the *divine rights* of the *clergy*; the *neceſſity* of an *uninterrupted ſucceſſion* to give them any *rights*; the *certain effects of human benedictions*, and *abſolutions*; the *impoſſibility* of *ſalvation* where *they* are wanting, and where *they* are not diſpenſed by *regular* and *uninterrupted ſucceſſors*; their *equality* with the *ſacraments* and *inſtitutions* of *Chriſt*. Encourage, and promote with the utmoſt fervor all theſe *notions*; which are indeed *huge abſurdities* on the *principles*, that the *proteſtants* pretend to, but are very *conſiſtent* upon *ours*. But take care that you do not let them too haſtily into the ſecret, that theſe *doctrines* neceſſarily lead to *our church*. The *ſtep* from *them* to *us* grows ſo *ſmall*, that in time we ſhall eaſily draw them to the *cloſeſt union* with us; eſpecially when they ſee the *power* and *preferment* come over to our ſide before them. In the mean while, we have *others*, of a leſs *figure* than *you*, to make their *advantages* of theſe things in *private converſions*. Do you mind the *main buſineſs*; and while *they* think you are *defending* them, you will be really *undermining* them, and *building up* for us: you will

will inſenſibly render them *ridiculous*, and *contemptible*; and us *powerful* and *formidable*.

5. Therefore juſtify the *convocation* in all its *proceedings*; cry them up as *glorious defenders* of their *church* againſt its moſt *potent enemies*. Dwell upon their *commendation*; be more *zealous* for them, if poſſible, than they are for themſelves: *ſigh at*, or rail at, as is moſt convenient, the *royal prorogation*, that was ſent them *laſt ſpring*: tell what noble *feats* they would have done, had they been ſuffered to proceed at that time; what *ſervice* to the *church*, what *honour* to *Chriſtianity*! *Make as merry* with theſe things in private, as you pleaſe; provided you are ſure you are only with *friends*: but in public put on the moſt *ſolemn* and *zealous face* you are capable of.

6. Oppoſe vehemently all *union* of *hearts* and *affections* among *proteſtants*, either with the *reformed churches*, as they call them, *abroad*, or with the *different ſectaries at home*. Employ all your *hotteſt zeal* againſt this. We told you before, that this was the only *unity* we dreaded. Repreſent therefore the *reformed abroad*, and the *diſſenters* of *England*, as no *Chriſtians*, as wanting *epiſcopal ordination*, *a regular ſucceſſion*, *authoritative abſolutions* and *benedictions*, *true ſacraments*, and every thing that *conſtitutes* a *church*, or a *communion*. Here you may venture to ſoften

ten them a little toward *us*, as having all theſe things in *perfection*, however we may *err* in other *matters:* you may aſſure them, whatever *odd and ſingular Chriſtians* may ſay of us, that we have the *eſſentials* of a *true church*, and are *good Chriſtians*, though we may be in ſome things *erroneous*; and that, whatever *faults* we may have, we are infinitely *preferable* to *preſbyterians*. This cannot ſhock them: for many of their own *coryphees* have been loudly applauded for ſaying it.

7. The more effectually to prevent ſuch a *dangerous union*, as we have been ſpeaking of, inſiſt on the *abſolute neceſſity* of another *unity*, that will never do us any *harm*, but will for ever put a *ſtop* to ſuch a *one* as we fear; we mean, a *unity* in *opinions*. As we know this is *impracticable* among *men*, and that nothing will ever ſo much as bring to paſs the *appearance* of *it*, but an *inquiſition*, or *dragooning*; (*our method*, and the only *wiſe method* of *proſecution*;) ſo the endeavouring to force *it* without theſe *helps*, will make them only loſe their labour, and weaken themſelves, by exaſperating them againſt one another, and dividing them the more effectually, and irreconcilably amongſt themſelves; and will always give us great advantages againſt them all. You know how much even we are really divided, who have the *infallible chair* of St. *Peter* for a *center of unity*; but *fear* keeps us *quiet*, and

and makes us *ſubmit*, whenever any thing is once determined *there*. The preſent madneſs of the *Janſeniſts* here, looks like an exception to this; but we eſteem them as *bad*, or rather *worſe*, than *Huguenots*; and hope very ſhortly to put an end to their *vain ſtruggles*. However, in the main, ſuch is the nature of mankind, nothing can hinder *diſunion*, but either *terror*, or *love* and *charity*. The *latter* does it more certainly, and conſtantly; therefore by all means prevent it: for if ſuch *unity* ſhould prevail in *England*, we loſe at once all ground to work on. Encourage the people, heartily to hate one another, for every, the ſmalleſt, difference in *religion*, whether in the *doctrines*, or *ceremonies* of *it*: and be ſure to call every *habit*, *geſture*, or *notion*, that any *one* has a fondneſs for, *religion*. Drive them on to *fury*, againſt all that differ from them in any of *theſe*. Repreſent every ſmall *diſſention* as *intolerable*; and as what will juſtify all *ill uſage* and *ſeverity*. Be not afraid of going too far in this: you can never here drive them to *wantonneſs* and *exceſs*: but you will make them on all hands, without knowing it, clear the way to our *re-eſtabliſhment*; when they ſhall have ſufficiently weakened *themſelves*, and ſtrengthened *us*.

8. In order to make a *unity of opinion* appear the more neceſſary, declaim much on the *myſteriouſneſs*

rioufneſs and *darkneſs* of *religious matters*. And here you have an admirable opportunity of crying out againſt *private judgment*. Tell them that every one is not capable of *judging* about ſuch things: that thoſe *myſteries* are *above* our *underſtandings*; (and be ſure to make every plaineſt *doctrine* a *myſtery*;) that it is *pride* and *arrogance* to pretend to explain them to *human apprehenſion*; that therefore all men ought to ſubmit to *them* blindly, and implicitly; that *underſtanding* is in no degree neceſſary to *believing*; nay, that it is *impious* to *underſtand religion*. Rail without ceaſing againſt thoſe that have been ſo daring as to offer at making *religion* intelligible, and ſupporting it by reaſon: call them *heretics*, and *enemies* of *religion*: give them all the *odious appellations* your *fancy* can invent, And, though they be even defending *faith* by *reaſon*, accuſe them, as ſetting up *reaſon* againſt *faith*. You will not find it difficult to perſuade the *common people* of this, and to encreaſe their *averſion* to *ſuch perſons*, who are always our greateſt *enemies*. And beſides, you will wean them from the *itch* of *enquiring*, and *underſtanding*, and *judging* for themſelves, and enrage them againſt all who do not *ſubmit* blindly, to what they ſubmit to.

It is therefore with great *regret*, that we find you have been employing your ſelf to *tranſlate* the *works* of Dr. *Clark*, which very imprudently,

to

to ſay no worſe, you call *incomparable*. We forgot to tell you of this before. But now we charge you to leave off your *deſign*, if you had any, of meddling with *them*; unleſs you could anſwer *them*. Let alone *clear heads*; for they are *dangerous*. You know we love moſt to engage with ſuch *adverſaries*, as through their *fear* of denying *too much*, concede *enough* for our *purpoſe*, and give us the beſt *advantages* againſt them. But with *him*, and ſuch as follow *him*, avoid arguing. Abuſe him, revile him, call him every where a *Socinian*, a *deiſt*, and an *atheiſt*. No matter for the contradiction, it will eaſily go down with ſome. Say, he has robbed *religion* of its *holy myſteries*, by pretending to bring to *light* thoſe *revealed* things, which muſt always lie *hid*. Let this be all you have to do with him; but ſhun any *diſpute* or *converſation* with *him*, for you can obtain no *advantage* from him, and he may do you a great deal of *harm*.

9. We charge you to oppoſe, with the utmoſt *vigour*, all *public acts*, which ſhall be propoſed in favour of *liberty* and *toleration*. Repreſent the *want* rather of new *reſtraints*, and the neceſſity of adding greater *powers* to the *church*, to *terrify* offenders againſt *her laws*, and to maintain *orthodoxy* and *uniformity*; and particularly clamour againſt a *bill*, that we hear is now in agitation, for repealing the *bills* againſt *ſchiſm*, and *occaſional*

con-

conformity. If that *bill* ſhould paſs, we are in great danger; for it would *unite* proteſtants, into ſuch a *union*, as will deſtroy all our hopes. Deſcribe the *diſſenters* in all the *worſt colours*; as greater *enemies* to *church* and *ſtate*, than *we* are; as people inceſſantly labouring its *ruin*; and, which will prevail moſt with many, as *thoſe* who would rob the *church* of all its *wealth* and *dominion*; the preſerving of which (to ſay the truth boldly) is *the one thing needful*. Load them with all their *anceſtors* did an *age* ago; conceal every thing that may in any degree *juſtify* them, or ſoften the minds of people toward them. Own the helping hand they gave to the *revolution*; but then affirm that the *revolution* ruined, impoveriſhed and enſlaved *England*: do not fear being caught in *contradictions*: the *zeal* you will ſpirit up againſt *thoſe* people, will make any thing go down ſmoothly. If you are diſcomfited in one *place*, nevertheleſs affirm it without *ſhame*, and ſtill fight the *lord's battles*, in another. In ſhort, leave no *ſtone* unturned to *exaſperate people* againſt the *diſſenters*; and to frighten the *government* from attempting any thing for their *relief*. We have always found theſe methods to have *ſucceſs*: and you have ſeen them made uſe of to very good purpoſe, by ſeveral *late writers* of their own.

Be ſure to join in with the *cry* of the *danger* of the *church*, and ſeem much to *ſigh* over it.

Often

Often ſpeak with the utmoſt concern of the *black deſigns* againſt *her*: and to aggravate it ſay, that they come not from *her enemies*, but from *her familiar friends*; from *perſons* of great *ſtations* and *characters* in *her*.

Let the *church* never be out of *danger*, whilſt we are in *danger*: and be ſure to let its *danger* encreaſe always, in proportion as you find our *intereſt* decreaſes; as any thing is brought on the ſtage, as a farther *ſecurity* againſt us; as any thing is propoſed to make the *diſſenters* eaſier; as you perceive *liberty*, and what they call their *rational religion*, to gain ground, or *ſubmiſſiveneſs* to *authority*, and, what they call *ſuperſtition*, to diminiſh; in ſhort, as your preſent *king* comes to ſit firmer on his *throne*, and to be in leſs danger of loſing *it*. Inflame the *ſpirits* of the *people*, with the moſt melancholly *views*, of ſeeing their *church* overturned, and all *religion* aboliſhed. Repreſent all *freedom*, as a ſtep to this: raiſe them to that heat, (be ſure to call it *zeal*,) that they may even take up *arms* in the defence of them. And by this means you will revive the *rebellion*: they will fight our cauſe with much greater *fury* than before, poſſeſſed with this new *enthuſiaſm*, which always excites the fierceſt courage.

10. Therefore the chief thing we recommend to you, is to blacken the *king*, and his *government*. We forgot to tell you the *reſentment* we had, for

ſome

ſome *poems* and *panegyrics*, we heard, you had made upon *him*. Make up that *fault* by a diligent *abuſe* of *him* for the future. Hint at the worſt *deſigns* againſt the *liberty* of the people; rail againſt the *ſtanding army*: for nothing provokes us more, than the *king*'s being in a *poſture* to defend *himſelf*; and the *confidence* we ſee his *people* have in him. Miſrepreſent every *ſtep* of the *adminiſtration*: and, as *they* do not give you occaſion to do even this, ſtick at no *invention* to diſcredit *it*: you know your *diſpenſation* will bear you out in any thing of that nature. Inſinuate, as often as you find opportunity, what a *glorious* and *flouriſhing ſtate* the *church* would be in, if their *rightful* and *lawful king*, who is now in *Italy*, were ſettled on that *throne*. Oh! if we could but once ſee that *happy time*, how ſhould we *triumph*, and *make merry* with the *ſlaves*, who had helped *him* thither? they would quickly find, that we alone would reap the *harveſt*, which they had ſpent ſo much labour and ſweat to bring up. But however, this is to be a *ſecret*, till the thing be accompliſhed. Spare no *promiſes*, nor *oaths*, that may be *requiſite* on this *occaſion*; the ſame *diſpenſation* which allows you to *make*, permits *us* to *break* them.

Theſe, *father*, are our *inſtructions*, which we command you to obey, in virtue of the *holy obedience*, which you are obliged to by your moſt *ſolemn*,

lemn, and *ſolely indiſpenſable oaths*. Recover the place you have loſt in our *minds* by your *paſt conduct*; and requite the *injuries* you have done us, with a more than ordinary *zeal* for the future. If you do this, you may hope on your *return*, for all the *advancement* our ſociety is able to beſtow upon you. If you leave and betray us, you ſee what you are to expect in *England*; to be a *hated and contemned proſelyte*. If you deſign to return hither: conſider whether you would rather chuſe to be a *ſuperior*, or *provincial*, or perhaps ſometime or other, even *general* of our *ſociety*; or to viſit *La Fleche* for the *ſecond time*. In the mean while, hoping the beſt of you, we remain, *in the participation of your holy ſacrifices*,

Your dear brothers,
and ſincere friends,
The fathers of the ſociety
of JESUS.

The END *of the* FIRST VOLUME.

BRITISH MUSEUM 27 57